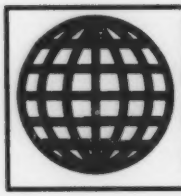

Daily Report

Supplement

Soviet Union

28th CPSU Congress

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Soviet Union
SUPPLEMENT
28th CPSU Congress

FBIS-SOV-90-127-S 2 July 1990

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CPSU Congress Begins 2 July

LD0207062290 Moscow World Service in English 0600 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] The 28th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has just opened in Moscow. Television and radio are covering live this major political event.

The delegates will discuss cardinal problems of the development of society and the role of the communists in the life of the country. They will also elect the party's new leading bodies.

General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev will make the progress report of the Party's Central Committee. Attention will be given to how restructuring is going on and to the party's objectives. The draft policy statement on humanitarian and democratic socialism will also be submitted to the congress. It contains such political guidelines as going over to a regulated market economy and making the country a union of sovereign states. The document also recognizes the existence of many different parties. The congress will likewise consider the draft rules which provide for profound democratization of relations within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, including the independence of the communist parties in the Union republics, freedom of debate, and holding party referendums.

As for electing the future leader of the party, the congress itself will decide whether this will be a general secretary or chairman. The congress will also decide how he is to be elected. As soon as Mikhail Gorbachev begins speaking, we shall be broadcasting summaries every half hour on what he says in the report to the congress, so we invite you to stay tuned for our up to the minute summaries of this extremely important address.

TV Broadcasts 28th CPSU Congress Proceedings

LD0207061190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0555 GMT on 2 July begins a live relay of the opening session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. The television announcer says the relay of the 28th CPSU Congress will begin soon.

At 0557 GMT, the delegates are shown seated in the hall.

At 0600 GMT, Gorbachev, who is chairing the session, mounts the rostrum to applause from the hall. He begins by saying that 4,683 delegates have been elected for the congress; 4,657 have come, with 26 absent for valid reasons. The 28th CPSU Congress is declared open, he says to applause. fGorbachev says that in addition 350 workers and peasants have been invited to the congress. There are also Komsomol members and staff members of central bodies and organizations.

Gorbachev says that first they must elect the congress Presidium, Secretariat, and Editorial and Mandate Commission, taking into account suggestions already made. An electronic voting system is installed in the hall, he says, and a commission is to be set up to check its functioning. Gorbachev then reads a list of delegates with technical backgrounds.

Presidium, Secretariat Elected

LD0207063590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0605 GMT on 2 July continues its live relay of the opening session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

After reading a list of prospective commission members designated to check the functioning of the electronic voting system, Gorbachev asks for a vote on the list. The delegates vote: 4,499 for, 13 against, 12 abstain. The commission is confirmed.

At 0607 GMT, Gorbachev asks the delegates for any observations concerning the congress presidium.

At 0608 GMT, a Delegate Vladimir Bludov says from the floor that the CPSU Central Committee members should be dismissed and not reelected due to the failure to fulfill the food program. Gorbachev responds that this will be handled in due course. Gorbachev then asks for a vote on the proposed composition of the congress presidium. The delegates vote: 4,286 for, 229 against, 59 abstain—the list is accepted.

At 0610 GMT, Estonian delegate Yermolayev, speaking from the floor, says he wishes to withdraw from the proposed commission, suggesting another pro-CPSU Estonian communist, Gusev, in his place.

At 0612 GMT, Estonian delegate Palm, speaking from hall, asks Gorbachev not to turn the congress into an analysis of internal republican squabbles. The candidate proposed in place of Yermolayev only aggravates the confrontation, says Palm.

Gorbachev says the Presidium was chosen in order to ensure representation of all points of view. Still, Yermolayev wishes to withdraw, and this must be accepted. Who is in favor of including Gusev in the Presidium, Gorbachev asks. A vote is held—2,599 for, 1,390 against, 553 abstain. Gusev is included in the Presidium.

At 0618 GMT, Gorbachev invites members of the Presidium to come to the stage. Lukyanov, among others, is shown leaving his seat and taking his place on the stage. Gorbachev is now flanked by Ryzhkov and Lukyanov.

At 0619 GMT, Gorbachev asks: Are there an observations on the proposed Secretariat membership? Delegate Karaulov, a Democratic Platform member from Leningrad, suggests Democratic Platform supporter A. Godunov as an additional secretariat member. Gorbachev says there is no reason not to increase the number of Secretariat members. Delegates ask for more information on Godunov. Gorbachev puts the original list of

Secretariat members to a vote: 4,102 for, 390 against, 81 abstain—the list is accepted. Gorbachev says next will be a vote on Godunov.

At 0624 GMT, (Konyshevich) from Mogilev speaks from the floor, urging the delegates to vote for Gudonov's inclusion in the secretariat. A vote is held: 2,758 vote for, 1,786 against, 74 abstain—Godunov is included.

Drafting, Credentials Commissions Elected

LD0207071990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0627 GMT on 2 July continues its live relay of the 2 July session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. At this time, Gorbachev moves on to the election of the Drafting Commission. Delegate (Ivkin) from Perm proposes including Suslov, a doctor of philosophy, in the proposed list of members. A delegate from Bashkiria says there are too few workers on the list, and nominates a candidate. A Moscow delegate proposes including deputy editor of *KOMMUNIST* Otto Latsis. Other proposals follow.

At 0631 GMT, Gorbachev suggests that the assembly vote on the initial list: 4,309 vote for, 96 against, and 54 abstain. The list is approved. Gorbachev then reads through the list of newly proposed members. Yeltsin is shown sitting in the hall, not on the podium as a member of the congress Presidium.

At 0635 GMT, an unidentified delegate says the Moscow delegation has not officially proposed including Latsis in the Drafting Commission. Deputy (Merzlyakova) says that Latsis' presence would be invaluable. An unidentified delegate intervenes to state that the party is a single entity and that no favors should be shown to individual delegations. Gorbachev replies that as chairman, he must take all proposals into account.

At 0639 GMT, Gorbachev calls for a vote on the principle of whether the Drafting Commission should be increased in size. A vote is held: 1,941 vote for, 2,561 against—the proposal is rejected.

At 0641 GMT, Gorbachev says the Credentials Commission must now be elected. Delegates make various proposals on membership. Gorbachev decides to call a vote on increasing the size of the commission first: 4,310 vote for, 197 against and 59 abstain.

At 0645 GMT, Gorbachev says it has been proposed that Estonian delegate Gusev be replaced by Yermolayev. He asks, who is in favor? A vote is held: 3,642 vote in favor, 614 against, 363 abstain—Yermolayev is included in the commission. The amended list of members is now put to the vote: 4,296 vote for, 132 against, 96 abstain —the list is endorsed.

Agenda Approved

LD0207075490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0649 GMT on 2 July continues its live relay of the 2 July session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. Gorbachev says the congress bodies have now been elected and it is now time to discuss the agenda. He says the agenda has been discussed and substantially altered. It is now as follows: the Political Report, reports by Politburo members, report by the Central Auditing Commission on the CPSU budget and property, the keynote statement, CPSU rules, the Central Control Commission statute, resolutions, statements, and addresses of the congress. Gorbachev asks if this agenda is suitable.

At 0652 GMT, Delegate Boldyrev says multiparty politics is being introduced in the country. This marks the end of 73 years of single-party rule. The activities of the CPSU over that period must be reviewed. He suggests including an item entitled "The Political Responsibility of the CPSU to the People" on the agenda. The CPSU's property should also be discussed, says Boldyrev.

At 0654 GMT, Delegate (Avgust) rises to say that the recent Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party conference cast doubt on the very idea of reform. Gorbachev interrupts to tell (Avgust) to confine his remarks to the topic of the agenda. Avgust proposes holding the congress in two parts, concentrating on the first three items in part one. A party referendum is needed to allow communists to determine their own future, he says.

At 0657 GMT, Voronezh delegate (Volgin) says the proposed agenda should be put to a vote immediately. This congress must be exemplary. Gorbachev asks the hall whether the discussion should continue. Delegates are lining up to speak, he says. He calls for a vote on whether to end this discussion: 3,717 are in favor—the discussion ends.

At 0700 GMT Gorbachev puts the proposed agenda as a whole to the vote: 4,149 vote for, 170 against, 42 abstain—the agenda is approved.

Now for the amendments, says Gorbachev. Boldyrev has proposed an item on the party's political responsibility. Who is in favor of including it, asks Gorbachev. A vote is held: 1,022 vote for, 3,417 against, 134 abstain—the suggestion is rejected. The issue of CPSU property is already on the agenda, Gorbachev says.

At 0704 GMT, Boldyrev says he made a mistake regarding property, he meant to say "property responsibility" of the CPSU. He believes that the CPSU's property should be fully nationalized. Gorbachev says this can be discussed within the existing agenda. The suggestion to hold the congress in two parts is put to a vote: 469 vote for, 4,025 against, 79 abstain—the suggestion is rejected.

At 0708 GMT, a vote is taken on whether to single out the reports by Politburo members as a separate item on the agenda: 2,881 vote for, 1,572 against, 88 abstain—the suggestion is accepted.

A vote is then taken on whether a party referendum should be held, as proposed earlier: 943 vote for, 3,344 against, 181 abstain—the referendum is rejected.

At 0712 GMT, an unidentified delegate proposes including a report from Democratic Platform member Lysenko in the agenda.

At 0714 GMT, Gorbachev puts the newly-amended agenda to the vote: 4,061 vote for, 435 against, 72 abstain—the amended agenda adopted.

At 0715 GMT, Gorbachev says the next item to be discussed is the standing orders of the congress. Should we adopt the proposed orders as a basis for discussion, he asks. A vote is taken: 4,411 vote for, 53 against, 41 abstain—the proposal is accepted. An unidentified delegate proposes giving Politburo members 10 minutes or so for their reports, with considerably more time for questioning afterwards. The Marxist Platform and others should be given the opportunity to speak after Gorbachev's report.

Gorbachev replies: "When you submit proposals, particularly when they concern the reports of members and candidate members of the Politburo and discussion of these, and propose allotting one hour to each, do not forget that there are 20 people. That would mean three working days. And we'll be discussing...I set the task of fitting everything into one week, but that didn't work. The very minimum time required is 10 days. Add another three days, and many will return for the harvest, etc."

At 0720 GMT, an unidentified deputy stands up to urge delegates to keep to the point in their interventions and to refrain from unparliamentary behavior.

Congress To Last 10 Days

LD0207082490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0722 GMT on 2 July continues its live relay of the opening session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. At this time delegates propose minor procedural amendments to the standing orders.

At 0728 GMT, Gorbachev calls for a vote on whether to stop hearing proposals. The vote is held: 4,168 vote for, 306 against—there will be no more proposed amendments. Gorbachev says the basic standing orders have already been adopted: Why don't we pass on the proposals to the Drafting Commission and vote on them after the break, Gorbachev suggests. The idea is put to a vote: 4,281 vote for; 107 against; 36 abstentions.

At 0730 GMT, Gorbachev suggests that the delegates discuss the length of the congress. First it was proposed for 12 days, then one week, but that came to nothing. Eventually we settled on 10 days, he says, and if we agree on this, then everything must be worked into 10 days. The timetable will be built around that duration. Another point: 8 July is a day off, but we would like to hold meetings with workers, etc., and so all 10 days will be work of some kind. Gorbachev suggests voting on a 10-day duration and not more than 10 days: 3,538 vote for; 782 against.

At 0738 GMT, Gorbachev says the next item to be discussed is the question of sections to smooth the work. There will be the following sections: Party Renewal; Ideological Work; the Party as a Movement; Socioeconomic Policy; Nationalities Policy; International Activity of the CPSU. But first there will be a plenary session. The sections will start on the fourth day. What about that, asks Gorbachev. Probably all we can spare is one day for their work, he says. A Latvian delegate suggests an agrarian section. A Kaliningrad Oblast delegate says the minimum is two days for the sections. A Murmansk delegate suggests a section on draft rules of the CPSU and proposes a change in evaluating the work of party bodies: satisfactory or unsatisfactory. A Dnepropetrovsk delegate says the secretaries of primary organizations should be involved in sections.

At 0745 GMT, a Kokchetav delegate suggests the hours 0900-2000 every day for work. A Voronezh Oblast delegate says we must have a clear, precise timetable drawn up by the Presidium, otherwise we will not keep to the 10-day limit. A Moscow delegate supports two days of work for sections. A Lithuanian delegate—invited, since his party has split off—asks for a change to the status of his delegation so that it is given conference documents.

At 0749 GMT, a Latvian Communist Party delegate proposes a section on the renewal of the federation.

At 0750 GMT, Gorbachev sums up the proposed amendments. He is in favor of an agrarian section. A section on party rules narrows the sections too much, he says. It is a good idea, he says, to draw up a definite timetable, but as for starting at 0900 and going on to 2000—delegates would be overworked and would lose interest after two or three days. The federation/statehood issue is covered by the Nationalities Section, he says.

At 0753 GMT, Gorbachev calls for a vote on who is in favor of the original sections plus an Agrarian Section? The vote is held: 4,297 vote for; 129 against; 32 abstentions.

At 0755 GMT, Gorbachev calls for a vote on work. A vote is held on keeping to one day: 3,677 for; 744 against; 135 abstentions.

Reports Discussed

LD0207090590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0757 GMT on 2 July continues its live relay of the opening session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At this time, a vote is held on establishing the working day at 1000 to 1900: 4,249 vote for, 258 against, 27 abstentions.

At 0759 GMT, Gorbachev says there will be two more questions and then the congress will take a break. Gorbachev reads the list of the reports that will be heard at the congress. How shall we do it? he asks. First, the Political Report, and then the Politburo Reports, he suggests. I doubt if we will fit it into 10 days, he says. And then we have to discuss them, he adds. Now, what about listening to all the reports first and then discussing them all together, he suggests.

At 0801 GMT, a vote is taken on Gorbachev's suggestion: 3,118 vote for, 1,286 against, 89 abstain.

At 0803 GMT, Gorbachev moves on to the last question: the Political Report will take roughly 2 hours and 20 minutes without interruptions or deviation, on the Central Auditing Commission—30 minutes; on the Budget and Drafting Commission—20 minutes; Politburo members and others—20 minutes each. He calls for a vote on this.

At 0805 GMT, the vote is held: 4,101 vote for, 289 against, 54 abstain.

At 0806 GMT, Gorbachev says PRAVDA will publish the reports in full; television will transmit the opening, the closing, the main reports, and will broadcast congress diaries daily. Gorbachev says some comrades want a media group to control media coverage. This is meets with applause.

At 0808 GMT, a vote is held on media coverage, but the results of the vote are not televised.

At 0809 GMT, announcements are then made. The congress will break until 0840 GMT. At 0810 GMT, the announcer says television coverage will continue after the break.

Gorbachev Gives Political Report

LD0207090790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0843 GMT on 2 July resumes its live relay of the opening session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow, at which time delegates are seen taking their seats after the break. Gorbachev, Lukyanov, Ryzhkov and other Presidium members mount the rostrum. Polozkov is seen sitting beside Lukyanov.

At 0846 GMT, Ryzhkov, chairing the session, hands over to Gorbachev for the political report.

At 0847 GMT, Gorbachev begins speaking. In five years, he says, we have had a "revolutionary spurt" in every area. It is time to answer fundamental questions about the country's future, the party's role, how to revive the CPSU. There is "acute argument" over the state of society today. Revolutionary changes have taken place in society: Stalinism has given way to a society of free people, real democracy is taking shape, a supercentralized state is being transformed into a free union of peoples, we have rejected the confrontational approach to international politics.

Gorbachev continues: Thousands of people repressed in the past have been rehabilitated. Perestroyka has revived people's sense of dignity as well as expectations of rapid changes for the better. There are also adverse phenomena surfacing: street democracy, mutual grievances, and so on.

Gorbachev on Inherited Problems

LD0207095190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0853 GMT on 2 July continues its live relay of the opening session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow, as Gorbachev continues giving the political report. He says that in some respects things have gotten worse—the consumer goods market, ethnic relations, etc.

Gorbachev says: "After all, some people are now saying: What's going on there? A kind of opposition has formed. Perestroyka is to blame for all our current misfortunes. Excuse me for putting it so abruptly, but this is quite simply nonsense. They say such things because they are unwilling or unable to look with open eyes at facts which everybody else can see. And maybe they say such things because they have certain goals in mind."

Gorbachev says: We inherited a baneful legacy—ecological problems, economic structure, poor social provisions, interethnic conflicts, militarization of the economy, the irreplaceable losses of the Afghan war. One cannot agree with those who blame perestroyka for everything—our task is to put things aright, he says.

At 0856 GMT, Gorbachev says: "We could have foreseen a lot. We need not have allowed the development of processes—above all in the economy and the social sphere, in interethnic relations, in the sphere of culture and ideology. The Politburo does not absolve itself of responsibility for these errors."

Gorbachev says: We must analyze the reasons for what has happened. The USSR was rapidly turning into a "second-rate state" during the 1980's. Perestroyka itself has not ended; we are now in a transition stage, says Gorbachev. One of the problems is opposition from bureaucratic forces: Unless this is overcome, the perestroyka processes will be exacerbated.

At 0900 GMT, Gorbachev says the activation of nationalistic and destructive forces is damaging perestroyka as well. Some forces in society are pushing us in the direction of a capitalist bourgeois system. "Extremist and destructive forces" are now uniting to stop the changes. The party realizes that all healthy forces must be rallied to find the way forward. Economic and political stabilization measures are required, a new union treaty must be drawn up, and the food situation must be sorted out. Perestroyka must develop as a peaceful revolution within the framework of socialist choice.

Social reorientation of the economy is a key factor in perestroyka policy, says Gorbachev. Investment in consumer industries has been given priority, he says, giving

figures for above-plan allocations to this sector. More housing has been built than in the past five-year period, says Gorbachev, adding figures for construction of schools, kindergartens, polyclinics, and shops.

At 0907 GMT, Gorbachev says the situation in the retail sector is "extremely difficult" and that he sympathizes with the criticism here. Delivery of foodstuffs and consumer durables to the shops has increased over the past few years and conversion of military enterprises has boosted production further. Still, the situation in the consumer market is at a "critical point." One reason is the lack of connection between wage hikes and productivity growth, says Gorbachev; capital construction projects have not been completed on time; salary increases in various professions have increased the money pressure further. Could this have been avoided? he asks. If the government had ensured a comprehensive approach, the losses could have been "considerably less"—the Politburo should have made this clear to the government. More could have been done and we, therefore, bear responsibility for the deterioration in the consumer market, says Gorbachev. Resources are wasted due to economic inefficiency—the system must be changed to improve living standards. Fundamental economic reform is therefore required, with the introduction of market infrastructure. Only now that we have gained experience and passed a number of laws can we properly bring in market relations.

At 0914 GMT, Gorbachev asks: Will the market cause a drop in living standards and guarantee social protection? These are serious issues and were not properly worked out in the government program—hence the public outcry, says Gorbachev. The market will allow us to balance supply and demand and create a normal environment for production development, raising living standards as a result. The market demands a diversity of forms of ownership with equal rights —state, collective, joint stock companies, etc. In adopting the market we are not abandoning socialism, but untapping society's potential more fully.

Gorbachev on Price Reform, Agriculture

LD0207102190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0918 GMT on 2 July continues its live relay of the opening session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. Gorbachev continues his report, saying with regard to price reform, that the review of retail prices must go hand in hand with social protection measures. It would be "absurd" to begin to introduce market relations with retail price rises, he says. We have not worked out the logic and proper sequence of events for switching to the market. The people must be confident that the new system will protect their interests. Gorbachev says commodity and asset markets must be set up, along with conditions in which enterprises can compete. Management staff must be cut in the near future and producers freed from the diktat of government departments. Interregional links are being broken by separatist aspirations, says Gorbachev: the new union treaty must clearly stipulate the economic rights of republics, but it must not allow republican governments to dictate in place of the central government.

At 0923 GMT, turning to environmental problems, Gorbachev says a new approach is needed. Enterprises must be made liable for environmental damage and coordinated measures are required, including cooperation with other countries. The economy's future will depend largely on its inclusion in the international division of labor, but this is not easy, warns Gorbachev. Improvization has already caused "great losses". The most important thing, perhaps, is ruble convertibility, export incentives, and inward investment in the Soviet economy. We have given these problems much attention, Gorbachev says, but the foreign economic bodies have made "very many mistakes."

At 0926 GMT, Gorbachev says the fall in oil prices has cut hard currency earnings. Work is under way to expand links with the capitalist countries, hard currency settlements within CEMA are being introduced, but we must develop the skills to use these opportunities, says Gorbachev. Insufficient attention is being given to this latter point; immediate improvements are required.

At 0930 GMT, Grobachev turns to agriculture, saying that past decisions have failed to produce results. Analysis of the situation brought us back to the Leninist concept of agricultural policy, but the decisions taken at the April plenum and subsequently were not properly followed up in practice. The agrarian sector is in need of major assistance says Gorbachev, outlining various financial and legislative measures. Society must go to the aid of the countryside, he says to applause. No other branch of the economy is in such need of freedom, and this must be ensured. Unless peasants become true masters of the land, investment will be of no use, he says.

At 0934 GMT, Gorbachev says that some people are claiming that the new agrarian policy jeopardizes collective and state farms. This is not true, says Gorbachev.

Gorbachev says: "Today it must be stated over and over again that, unless economic relations are changed, unless new incentives are brought in for peasant labor, unless the actual position of the peasant changes, unless he becomes the true master of the land, no investments whatsoever will help. At the congress, we must confirm our commitment to the policy mapped out at the March plenum of the Central Committee. "In this connection, I want to talk about a question on which there is not just debate but also, in my view, real speculation. This is the attitude to collective and state farms. People are even alleging that the new agrarian policy calls in question their very existence. The aim of the policy is actually to establish equal opportunities for all forms of land management. Let each of them prove their viability and effectiveness. That is our principled position. And, of course, we reject the demand for complete decollectivization."

All forms of ownership and management must prove their worth, Gorbachev continues. Decisive measures

are urgently needed to promote leasing in the countryside, and a mechanism must be created for implementation of the Law on Land. All obstacles must be removed for those who wish to lease land. The local soviets should use their new powers to ensure application of the law.

Gorbachev on Ethnic Conflicts

LD0207110390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0937 GMT on 2 July continues its live relay of the 2 July session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. Gorbachev continues his report, moving on to a discussion of interethnic conflicts. He says that we failed to foresee the dangers looming. Life has taught us a harsh lesson, he adds. Perestroyka has created conditions for revival of national identities. The central bodies failed to give appropriate attention to interethnic issues at first.

Gorbachev states: "At the same time, problems and contradictions have come to light which were engendered by mistakes in the deployment of production forces, in cultural and ethnic policy, in the development of national languages, in tackling social matters in a number of regions of the country, by the unevenness of their development, and by demographic and ecological changes. There were also historic and religious reasons. And of course, we must now pay for the crimes perpetrated once upon a time against whole peoples. It must be frankly acknowledged that in the early days, the central and local organs of power failed to treat these problems adequately and with due attention. And this has been seized upon by all manner of destructive forces, separatists, inveterate nationalists, and corrupt elements."

Thousands have suffered from these conflicts, says Gorbachev, there are refugees, and many communists have proved unequal to the task of ensuring order. The Central Committee nationalities policy calls for constructive solutions and harmonization of relations between the peoples of our country.

At 0941 GMT, Gorbachev says we need a national-state set-up that unties the knots of conflict. Work is already being done on the new union treaty. This congress must appeal to all citizens to put a stop to nationalist instigation. What we need is peace and calm, he says.

Gorbachev states: "Everything we have lived through and absorbed in recent times has led to the understanding that the transformation of the union cannot be restricted just to the broadening—even if this is extensive—of the rights of the republics and autonomous areas. What is needed is a real union of sovereign states. It is, in essence, a question of establishing a state ethnic structure for our country that will make it possible to unravel the knots of contradictions, to raise cooperation among peoples to a new level, and to augment the joint political might of the union and its economic and spiritual potential, in the interests of all those who united to form this great union of states. In this way, the country's security will be reliably ensured and its international standing will be enhanced.

"There remains here the demand for priority status for human rights over and above all the interests of ethnic sovereignty or autonomy. This must be enshrined in the constitutional mechanism of the union and of each republic. From this principle by which we are guided also on the international level, there can be no taking so much as one step backwards."

Gorbachev goes on to say: "If we are hoping for radical changes for the better in the near future, then it would seem right, on behalf of our congress now, to issue an appeal to all peoples of the country to recognize how fateful might be a further whipping-up of passions in interethnic relations, and to stop and do battle with those inciting this, whatever garb of defending honor and dignity they might don. I believe our people are awaiting such a position on this question. [applause] At this time, when we are embarking fully on profound changes in our multi-ethnic state in the interests of all peoples, what we need is calm, peace, and cooperation. I hope that this appeal from our congress will be heeded in all corners of our great multi-ethnic country. [applause]"

Gorbachev on Party's Role

LD0207112890

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0945 GMT on 2 July continues its live relay of the 2 July session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. Gorbachev continues giving the political report. Moving on to the political system and the role of the party, Gorbachev says that the ideas of the January 1987 plenum were not universally welcomed. This was because it raised the issue of cadres' responsibility. The 19th Party Conference drew up new political institutions which are now in place; it was one of the main achievements of perestroyka. If we had not taken this path the growing politicization of society might have lead to "chaos". The task of this congress is to draw up a program for consolidating the party and society. The party's aim is to facilitate the emergence of the new bodies of people's power.

Gorbachev says: "I wish to talk here about the enormous significance of the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee held in 1987. It is there that an honest analysis of the functioning of our political regime, and of the place of the party and local soviets in it, was carried out for the first time. It is then that we spoke at the top of our lungs about the need to implement the Leninist concept of the people's power.

"It must be admitted, however, that the ideas of the January Plenum were not accepted unequivocally by any means in the party and society, and have failed to be appropriately developed and deepened. But above all, practical steps were not taken to follow this up. It is now clear why that situation arose.

"The fact is that perhaps for the first time, the issue about the responsibility of cadres was raised with such acuteness: That put some of them on the alert and affected their attitude toward the plenum's decisions. Under these conditions, the Politburo did not always act in a consistent and principled manner. But life has forced us to go back again to the whole range of these issues, now, moreover, under the pressure of the democratization that has been launched in this country."

At 0948 GMT, Gorbachev says local soviets have been invested with new powers; the party must help them to use these.

At 0949 GMT, Gorbachev says people are categorically demanding an end to crime and disorder in the country. We must make a profound analysis of the situation and reach conclusions. There is a direct link between the disorder and the lack of political stability in the country: political and legal measures are needed to ensure order. The procuracy, ministry of internal affairs and court employees are suffering from a lack of confidence in their work. The party must state firmly that it is opposed to any pressure on law and order officials. Soviet people are counting on firmer action by the administrative bodies in this respect, says Gorbachev.

At 0953 GMT, Gorbachev says much has been done to free minds and souls: Stalinist prohibitions have been lifted, people rehabilitated, etc. To understand our development prospects, we must understand our own history, he says. Documents on the 1917 Revolution are now available, repressions of communists and others have been denounced, Stalinist policies have been reassessed. We are against wholesale denunciation of all that the October Revolution brought us, however. Work is under way on a new history of the CPSU which will give an honest picture of the past, says Gorbachev.

Gorbachev says: "The draft program statement to the congress, just as many other documents and speeches during the period of perestroyka, cover quite fully what we are resolutely renouncing from our past, and what we do not wish to take with us into the future. But we are opposed to the wholesale rejection of everything that our people have done since October, and we pay due tribute to all generations of Soviet people which have drawn inspiration from the socialist idea. They wanted to make the country rich, cultured, prosperous, and they spared neither effort nor their health. They defended it in the most terrible war. Their conscience before history is clean!"

At 0957 GMT, Gorbachev says decisions have been made to accelerate scientific and technical progress, but fulfillment has not been good. Backwardness in science and education are hampering us, says Gorbachev. The party is resolutely in favor of free development of social sciences; recommendations and advice must be taken into account. We must try to stop the brain drain from our country. Culture cannot, however, be totally commercialized, though greater freedom must be ensured. Cultural figures must bear moral responsibility before the people.

Gorbachev on International Relations

LD0207115990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1000 GMT on 2 July continues its live relay of the 2 July session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. Gorbachev continues, saying there are six pages left before the next section of the report. He says the world has been transformed since World War II, requiring a totally new global policy. This is based on three principles: One cannot ensure one's own security by jeopardizing that of others; one cannot achieve prosperity in isolation; and involvement in the world economy is essential to create an irreversibly peaceful period of world history.

Gorbachev says conversion of military production could be a leader in international economic integration: Contacts have already been established with the United States, Italy, and other countries.

At 1005 GMT, Gorbachev says the "new thinking" initiatives have substantially improved international relations. He states: "Thanks to perestroyka and the new thinking, a turnaround has occurred in relations between the USSR and the United States, from confrontation and arms race rivalry to mutual understanding, and on a number of issues, even partnership. This has changed the entire world situation for the better, and has initiated progress towards an unprecedentedly peaceful period in the life of mankind. Relations with China have been normalized, something that is of vast importance for both these great peoples and the world as a whole."

Real disarmament has begun in Europe, Gorbachev continues. We have never had such good relations with most European countries as now, he asserts. Moving on to a discussion of Eastern Europe, Gorbachev says: "Profound changes are taking place in Eastern Europe. When people say that this is the collapse of socialism, we ask in turn: What sort of socialism? The kind that was essentially a version of the Stalinist authoritarian and bureaucratic system which we, ourselves, have rejected? We are even reproached for leaving there without a struggle. It transpires, then, that we are being advised to resort to that which we used to resort to, which we have resolutely broken with, and which we resolutely condemn." Each people must have freedom to choose its future, Gorbachev asserts.

At 1007 GMT, Gorbachev states that a common European home is being built on a voluntary basis. We reject criticism of our foreign policy, he says, and I am confident that this congress will confirm its success.

At 1009 GMT, noting that "the effectiveness of our foreign policy is ensured by the might of our state, of which the Armed Forces are an integral part," Gorbachev says: "No one should have any doubt that the Army will continue to enjoy the support of the party.

Special concern should be shown towards those who have devoted themselves to the service of the homeland in the Armed Forces."

At 1011 GMT, Gorbachev concluding this segment of his report, saying that without the experience gained in all these spheres, we would not have reached this "decisive phase" of perestroyka.

At 1012 GMT, Ryzhkov says Gorbachev has asked for a break in the report. It is announced that the Gorbachev report will continue after lunch at 1145 GMT. Various announcements are made.

At 1013 GMT, the relay ends.

Gorbachev on Communist Theory

LD0207124290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1145 GMT on 2 July resumes its live relay of the 2 July session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. The television cameras switch back to hall; the bell rings three times. The cameras show a long-range view of the seated Presidium and Gorbachev at the rostrum.

At 1147 GMT Gorbachev continues his report, saying the main feature of the 28th CPSU Congress is that we have assembled at a crucial time. What will revolutionary changes lead to? Will they result in social justice, democracy, and freedom? There are many points of view on this, explains Gorbachev. The party's theoretical activity came in for much attention in the days before the congress. The concept of perestroyka is not a short-term concept. April 1985 opened the way to dicussion of acute issues in Soviet society. We have come to realize that a radical change is necessary, with greater humanism and freedom. It was in line with this that the other issues of the economy, the new political thinking, and the ideas of renewing the federation have been approached.

At 1150 GMT, Gorbachev explains we have had to review our attitude toward socialism. Socialism is a real movement. Marxism was founded on an analysis of the features of the 19th Century, but time has moved on. Nevertheless, all these decades, we have relied on the classical Marxist thinkers to provide answers. But we need an analysis of reality. The CPSU is against dogmatism, Gorbachev asserts.

At 1155 GMT, Gorbachev says communists want answers to questions relating to the party itself. The party recently has come in for criticism—justified and otherwise. We do not spare ourselves: do not spare us, he says. Of course, the party leadership bears responsibility for the deformations of the past, but do not blame all communists, he urges. Communists have been in the vanguard throughout our history. The pre-congress discussion has thrown up a wide spread of attitudes towards the party's activities. But the party has no right to withdraw to the periphery of society, Gorbachev affirms.

At 1158 GMT, Gorbachev says the party is devoted to the humanist idea, and is against chauvinism and dogmatism in all their forms. The party wants partnership with all progressive forces in society. The party wants independence for republican parties. It is open to contacts with parties in other countries—communists, social democrat and others.

Regarding the Communist Party's relations with other political parties and social movements, Gorbachev states: "I think that our party congress will come out determinately in favor of extensive cooperation with all parties and movements of a progressive orientation and in favor of consolidation in the interests of perestroyka and in the interests of the people. Within the framework of such cooperation, it is possible to discuss any problems that are worrying the public and to seek paths towards accord and joint action."

Gorbachev on 'Vanguard Role'

LD0207131190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1200 GMT on 2 July continues its live relay of the 2 July session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. Gorbachev, continuing his report, says there have been calls for the party to return to the Leninist vanguard role. But there is a danger in interpreting this the wrong way. The party should not meddle in the work of the soviets. On the question of whether the CPSU should be a vanguard or parliamentary type party, Gorbachev says:

"Various documents, including the draft keynote statement of the 28th Congress, talks of the need to return to the Leninist understanding of the party as society's vanguard force. But will it not transpire, is it not transpiring—and people are asking such questions—that we are once again laying claim to some kind of exceptional position, merely changing the term 'leading role' to 'vanguard?' There must be clarity on this: We believe that one cannot foist a vanguard role on society, it can only be won by an active struggle for the interests of the working people, by practical deeds, and by our whole political and moral image. The party will pursue its policy and fight to maintain its mandate as the ruling party within the framework of the democratic process and elections to the central and local legislative bodies. In this respect, it is acting as a parliamentary party."

At 1202 GMT, Gorbachev says the party's new role is to work out its position on various policies and explain these policies to the workers. On relations with other parties, Gorbachev says he believes the congress will back contacts and cooperation with any progressive party.

At 1203 GMT, moving on to speak about mass public organizations, Gorbachev says the party has always had links with the trade union movement. There must be a change in approach, though, with perestroyka. Perestroyka in the trade unions began late, he says. Parallel organizations—strike committees, for example—have appeared. The workers have grown suspicious that they

are being manipulated. But the Party should demonstrate that it wants to defend the working class' interests, stresses Gorbachev. Relations with the trade unions will be built on partnership, not interference, he adds.

At 1207 GMT, on the subject of the Komsomol, Gorbachev says it is hard for the youth movement. Questions have been raised about whether the Komsomol should even exist. Now the Komsomol should undergo the same purification as the party, Gorbachev asserts. However, the Komsomol should remain ideologically linked to the Party—that is of utmost importance, he stresses. We must help the Komsomol any way we can, while respecting its independence. Any other approach will alienate the youth.

At 1209 GMT, Gorbachev affirms that the party should decide whose party it is. We should build a system that is compatible with various interests. The party today is a pan-national organization. Gorbachev states: "We are the party of restructuring, and hence the CPSU today acts as a political organization of the whole people. I would like to stress that it is not by any means a matter of reviving worthless, outmoded ambitions for monopoly, under new slogans. In reflecting the interests of the people as a whole, the CPSU, as the party of the socialist choice, will continue to be based on the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia."

AT 1210 GMT, Gorbachev says the party must radically adjust its relations with women. There must be great attention to the conditions in which women live and work. It is a shame how few women take part in politics at higher levels he says, as murmering is heard throughout the hall. Gorbachev suggests that women should be represented in the Politburo and elsewhere. There should even be a section in the Central Committee dealing with women. The strengthening of women's organizations needs our support, he says. Women can do a lot to help themselves, says Gorbachev. Veterans, too, are very important to the party, he states.

At 1214 GMT, Gorbachev moves on to discuss communist parties in the republics—a very topical issue. The CPSU's integrity should not inhibit the republican parties from making their own decision on various issues. Various trends are in evidence, from federalism to separation. In the Baltics, other political forces have come to the fore, he says We must take steps to strengthen the internationalistic integrity of the party. No communist party should rise above the others and foist its will on the others. The Russian Communist Party has decided to work within the CPSU and we should welcome this, Gorbachev affirms.

Gorbachev on Party Factions

LD0207134590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1218 GMT on 2 July continues its live relay of the 2 July session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. Continuing his report, Gorbachev says that regarding the question of whether the party should play a part in enterprises, the answer can only be "yes." The "territorial principle" of organization is poorly managed by the party, he says.

At 1220 GMT, commenting on the depoliticization of state bodies and the Army, Gorbachev says: "There's another issue being raised at the moment, and poignantly at that: The issue of depoliticizing the bodies of state administration, the courts, procuracy, other law- and-order bodies, in addition to the Army. Our stance on this is determined by the fact that the right to association is an inalienable political freedom. Nobody can prohibit party members from setting up their cells in enterprises, establishments, and so on. Here we also...[applause] It's hard to imagine depoliticized state bodies; it's hard to find an army anywhere in the world which does not have bodies acting to maintain morals and to educate soldiers, officers, and so on. But we do not lay claim to exclusivity here either: This is the natural right of all parties, which will be registered in our country on a legal basis. That is our approach."

At 1221 GMT, Gorbachev moves on to discuss democratic centralism. In the past, this was replaced with bureaucratic centralism, but that is at an end, he says. The party wants to exclude it as a discredited concept. But the danger is that the party could then turn into a discusson club without teeth. So this congress should decide on this point. The rules should allow for democratism, says Gorbachev.

At 1223 GMT, commenting on the subject of factions within the party, Gorbachev says: "Connected with this is another important issue—on factions. We have now taken a huge step in the development of democracy, internal party glasnost, and openness. All kinds of attempts to suppress different thinking have been censured. But there is a threshold, the crossing of which would mean the destruction of the party. This is the creation of factions with their own particular internal discipline. I will elaborate. when speaking about the impermissibility of creating factions of this sort, we have in mind that party members who have formed their own points of view on some particular issue, who differ from the position of the majority, may freely discuss and propagandize on behalf of their views, declaring them publicly right up to the party congresses. Let us show that we already have some understanding on this count."

Gorbachev on Party Leadership

LD0207140190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1225 GMT on 2 July continues its live relay of the 2 July session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. Continuing his report, Gorbachev moves on to discuss elections within the party. Perhaps primary party organizations should be directly represented in superior party bodies, he says.

At 1226 GMT, Gorbachev addresses the topic of the future of the post of general secretary. Gorbachev says:

"The structure of the party's central bodies is a special issue. The proposals on this score set forth in the draft program statement and rules have not met with great objections, although these do exist. At the same time, the opinion is expressed that the Presidium of the Central Committee does not seem a sufficiently effective body. New aspects of party construction connected with the independent activities of communist parties of the union republics are not taken into account very well.

"Many comrades have spoken in favor of preserving the Politburo and the post of general secretary, elected by the congress, and of the election of a deputy general secretary of the Central Committee as the number two in the party leadership. This issue was discussed beforehand, and we have discussed it—those who participated in the Council of Delegations—in a fair amount of detail, and here is what I have to put before you on their instructions, so to speak, concerning this: The comrades expressed this opinion—I do not know if you delegates will agree with this or not, but you should know about it—the comrades consider that communists, or the majority of communists, at any rate, are in favor of preserving not a party chairman with deputies and a Presidium, but of preserving the post of general secretary, having a deputy as the number two in the party, and a Politburo. [applause] I think I am reporting accurately the opinion of the Council of Delegations."

Gorbachev Ends Report

LD0207142690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1228 GMT on 2 July continues a live relay of the 2 July session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. Continuing his report, Gorbachev moves on to discuss the work of the party between congresses. The Central Committee has had 22 plenums, he says, and each one of these had an importance of its own. There has been open and sometimes hard-hitting discussion at the past few plenums, he says. Moving on to the work of the CPSU Central Comnmittee since the last congress, Gorbachev notes the intensity with which the committee has worked, and says that the committee has, in the main, fulfilled its tasks. He goes on to say:

"Does this go to invalidate, comrades, what has been said in the course of the report, or to deny that this Central Committee has committed errors, that it did not respond in all cases or promptly to questions of life, or to assert that it has found timely and correct answers to what our dynamic times have thrown up? No comrades, this has to be counted among the shortcomings in the committee's activity, and directed at the leadership of the party Central Committee and at many members of the Central Committee, for their work in the localities has also become the object of sharp criticism from communists."

Gorbachev continues: "I would like to stress that the Central Committee has proved capable of propounding a policy of revolutionary reforms and of carrying out an immense amount of work in implementing them; nevertheless, I do not deny that considerably more could have been done, and the country and our society could thereby have been safeguarded from many negative phenomena which have led to social tension, and with which we are now forced to reckon and to find a way out."

At 1231 GMT, Gorbachev says we accept the criticisms and take them to heart, though this does not mean that we agree with it all. We must maintain the spirit of discussion in the party. Gorbachev states:

"A large number of criticisms have been leveled at many of us. No doubt fresh ones will be added at this congress to what has already been said. We believe this to be useful, and we take this in a party manner and learn the necessary lessons from it. But it does not in the least mean that we unconditionally agree with all the criticisms and reproofs. After all, criticism is also a manifestation of polemics and of a clash of standpoints reflecting the state of the party and society. And only life can ultimately bring complete clarity to particular debates. We need to continue to preserve a healthy atmosphere at all levels of the party and maintain a spirit of debate, to see to it that debate is fruitful and—particularly importantly, this was something we have been short of over these years—that we have party-style comradeship and party ethics."

Gorbachev ends his report as follows: "I am finishing my report. We are faced with very difficult tasks, comrades, and the party believes they can only be performed and a way out of the crisis situation can only be found by looking ahead, and only along the route of the further democratization and intensification of perestroyka."

At 1233 GMT, Gorbachev's two-hour report concludes and the relay ends.

More on TV Coverage of Congress Proceedings

Gorbachev Opening Remarks

LD0207080790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0600 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Remarks by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 28th CPSU Congress on 2 July at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates, in accordance with the rules for the election of delegates established by the March 1990 Central Committee plenum, 4,683 delegates have been elected to the 28th CPSU Congress from the party constituencies and at the party conferences. Four thousand six hundred and fifty-seven delegates have arrived at the congress. Twenty-six people are absent for good reasons. We have all the requirements for beginning our work. On the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, I declare the 28th CPSU Congress open. [applause]

Comrades, 350 workers and peasants from all the Union republics are invited to the congress, sent by the party

organizations, members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee and members of the Central Auditing Commission who are not delegates; Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] officials—these are secretaries of central committees of the Union republic Komsomol—and a number of officials from the central bodies of state and from public organizations.

Have the congress delegates any comments on who has been invited? No.

We now have to elect the leading bodies of congress: a presidium, a secretariat, and an editorial and mandate commission. Proposals on their membership have been discussed at a session of the council of representatives of the delegations, taking into account the opinions expressed by the party organizations on the eve of the congress, and are submitted for consideration to the congress delegates. You have these proposals, comrades, and I hope you have armed yourselves so that we can decide the questions in order, one by one.

However, before we move on to making decisions on these matters, I want to put you in the picture and so obtain agreement on this. We will be making decisions on these matters and on others, but now on these. May I remind you that the hall is equipped with an electronic voting system. It was used at the Russian Party Conference, which was held in this hall, and then at the inaugural congress of the Communist Party of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. We feel that, despite some initial misunderstandings, in general it has functioned well and efficiently. Many delegates are familiar with the system, but I assume that everyone, including the visiting comrades, the delegates from other communist parties, also have been able to familiarize themselves with the technology. To monitor the operation of the electronic system, it is proposed to form a commission from those delegates who are familiar with computer technology, having the following membership:

Comrade Redin, secretary of the party committee of the Moscow Institute of Electronic Technology—chairman; Comrade Batushkino, secretary of the party committee of the Mezon works in Kishinev; Beskov, radio equipment regulator at the Gorkiy communications equipment works; Zhuravlev, general manager of the Tashkent aircraft production association; Kozlov, first secretary of Prolekarskiy Rayon Party Committee in the city of Kalinin; Korotkov, deputy head of the complex of the design bureau for medium machine-building; and Comrade Nikitin, head of a section of the Avrora scientific production association, both from Leningrad. Some of these comrades have already served on the commission at the inaugural congress of the RSFSR Communist Party, and so have acquired a certain amount of experience.

If the comrades have no comments or requests for additions, I could put this to the vote and we would at once provide ourselves once more with the knowledge we all must have at our disposal. Are there any additions or comments, Comrades? Can I put it to the vote? Then I will ask you to take your vo[illegible] cards [pause] and vote. [pause while vote is taken] T[illegible] decision has been made. The voting has shown that there are 4,499 delegates in the hall. Ah, I am sorry, I was looking at the number in favor, 4,610. Good, it is just as well the chairman is under supervision.

Comrades, let us now move on to forming the leading bodies of the congress. On the congress presidium: the council of representatives of the delegates discussed this question pretty thoroughly. We wanted to have a proper working presidium, and it turned out to be practically only half as big, but then all-round discussion of the questions of representation led to the conclusion that we need such a membership as a minimum. I hope the leaders of the delegation have explained this to the delegates. So I want to ask you for your thoughts on the presidium, both as regards its size and its personal composition. Just a moment. [at this point Gorbachev hands the floor to delegate Bludov from Magadan Oblast]

Leadership Resignation Urged

LD0207071890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0608 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Remarks by Vladimir Bludov, delegate from Magadan Oblast, at the 28th CPSU Congress on 2 July at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow—live]

[Text] I am Bludov, a delegate from Magadan Oblast. My registration number is 1,157. Please don't switch my microphone off. Comrade delegates, I ask you to accept the following proposal. On the basis of paragraph 31 of the existing rules of the CPSU, the congress declares that, as the supreme party organ, it is taking all party powers into its hands, and resolves:

1. To guarantee the immunity of delegates and to extend their credentials until the 29th congress.

2. To announce the resignation of the CPSU Central Committee, headed by the Politburo, and not to elect them to membership of the congress's leading bodies because of the failure of work on the implementation of the food program and the decisions of the 27th congress and the 19th party conference. A personal assessment of every secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo should be made at the congress.

I ask you to put this question to a vote.

[Gorbachev] I think that this question...we will return to this question. Now we will continue working in accordance with the program. Do you agree, comrades? Good.

Secretariat Candidate Proposed

LD0207073490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0619 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Remarks by Delegate Karaulov, from the Democratic Platform in Leningrad, and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 28th CPSU Congress on 2 July at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Karaulov] Esteemed Congress! Esteemed General Secretary! Karaulov of Leningrad from the Democratic Platform. This morning we received a number of documents which propose that in the future there should be platforms in the party. I believe the time has come to move from words to deeds. And, therefore, on behalf of the Democratic Platform, I propose Andrey Vladimirovich Godunov for the secretariat. Thank you.

[Gorbachev] Godunov?

[Karaulov] Andrey Vladimirovich.

[Gorbachev] I hope he's a delegate. Yes? Very well. Comrades, I see no reason to add to the secretariat. Let's elect the 56 members and let it get down to work. Particularly since you will have the opportunity [changes thought] I know that documents have already been received from the platform. Let them be here and set out their arguments and contentions at every turn. They are congress delegates. What about it, comrades? Yes?

Gorbachev Proposes Agenda

LD0207085190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0649 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Proposed 28th CPSU Congress agenda read by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 28th CPSU Congress on 2 July at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow—live]

[Text] We now have to endorse the agenda and the standing orders for the 28th CPSU Congress. A brief comment, the briefest of comments:

The agenda proposed by the CPSU Central Committee plenum was discussed in an especially detailed way by the Council of Delegations' representatives and has undergone quite substantial changes. Account has been taken of numerous wishes expressed by party organizations and communists. As a result of fairly lengthy discussion, on behalf of the Council of Delegations' representatives, the following agenda is submitted. You have it, comrades, I think, but all the same it should probably be stated.

First, the political report: It was in just this final form that this point was formulated, and the party's tasks. Rapporteur—Gorbachev.

Following this, reports from members and candidate members of the Politburo and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee. And what is intended [indistinct remark in background] is that I shall talk afterward about how long. So this, as it were, forms part of the agenda.

Second point, the report of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission. Rapporteur—Comrade Nizovtseva.

And the Council of Delegation has pronounced in favor of making the following a separate item, one not included within the framework of the report and one which should not simply limit itself to the information which has been distributed to you, but that a report should be delivered by the CPSU Central Committee administrator: concerning the CPSU's Budget and Property.

Then come the 28th CPSU Congress program statement: toward Humane, Democratic Socialism, the CPSU rules; the situation in the CPSU Central Control Commission; elections to the party's central bodies.

And then, on the eve of the congress, it became apparent that there are many proposals that the congress should issue some special messages and should adopt certain resolutions on those matters it deems necessary. For that reason, this eighth point has been included: resolutions, statements and messages of the 28th CPSU Congress.

So there it is. We feel that we have now taken account of everything coming from the primary organizations themselves, from the whole party, so that the range of problems of concern to all communists should be present in the agenda and not just in the interventions.

Report-Back Amendment Adopted

LD0207082890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0708 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Motion read by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 28th CPSU Congress on 2 July at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow—live]

[Text] Now the following proposal has been made: that the Politburo members' report be singled out as a separate issue.

I thought we have already singled it out. What is meant is that Politburo members should be heard immediately after the political report-back of the Central Committee is delivered. Everything is logical, in my view. And that is how the Council of Delegations considered the issue. What was discussed at the Council of Delegations—this can also be written down, it will not do any harm, after all—the Council of Delegations discussed two approaches: first, that all the Politburo members, candidate members and secretaries should all be allowed to speak as part of the debate. This was not adopted and the view was expressed that they should all report back. And that is how it has been included in the agenda. If an item number needs to be put against it, let us do that. That would not change anything.

All right, who is in favor? I wish to ask the delegates to express their view on the amendment. The amendment amounts to singling out the issue of the Politburo members' report-backs as a separate issue. Please vote as to whether we should or should not adopt it. [pause for voting followed by applause] The decision has been adopted.

Congress Votes for 10-Day Duration

LD0207100590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0733 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Proposal by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 28th CPSU Congress on 2 July at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow—live]

[Text] Probably now, regarding the agenda, we will draw up the basic parameters, and in connection with the fact that the standing orders will overlap with the agenda and this will finally determine what agenda we adopt, probably finally together with standing orders it will be necessary to return to the agenda. Why? Because, for example, depending on the arrangements for reports by Politburo members and how much time will be devoted to them, the number of days we will work will depend on this. It will be affected by this right away. And so other questions will overlap. But now, maybe, it will be possible to agree with you on the agenda and examine within its framework the following questions. The first is—this was the opinion: There was a discussion before the Council of Delegations and at the Council of Delegations itself about the duration of the congress. At first, the preliminary studies showed that 12 days are necessary, but nevertheless proceeding from the general desire for there to be more efficiency and organization, comrades put forward the proposal that we should set up sections in order to involve more speakers and people wishing to speak, but nevertheless to try and hold it within a timescale of a week. All our attempts to keep it within the timescale of a week led nowhere. For the process of elections itself—and Comrade (Gusvetov) from Sverdlovsk correctly drew attention to this—will occupy a lot of time, at least three or four days. For this reason we can even move the rules up the agenda in order to adopt them and begin the nominations, working in parallel, and continue to discuss the program statement. The Council of Delegations spoke about this. Logically, everything is laid out correctly, and with such a utilitarian agenda we will decide with you how to discuss it.

So, comrades, in the end we settled on 10 days. This is a fundamental question. And if we agree, then everything must be strictly subordinated to this, the whole inner work, all logic must be aimed at this. Will we go beyond the limits of 10 days or will we agree specifically and then time-table everything and it will be subordinated to this? This will have an effect on a lot of things. This is the first question regarding the agenda—10 days work.

And right away, in this regard, 8 July was nonworking. Many said that at that time many meetings are possible within the framework of the groups which have formed and within the framework of discussing individual questions. Nikolay Ivanovich [Ryzhkov] and I, for example, want to have a meeting with worker and peasant delegates on Sunday the eighth, as we agreed at the Russian congress; and so, evidently, fill that nonworking day with, so to speak, enterprising work, as they say. So it turns out that we will work for the whole 10 days. It is practically so.

Can I put this question to the vote? Or does anyone want to speak on this question? Only on this. There's no need? No. Who is in favor of holding the congress' work over 10 days? I ask the congress to vote, to determine. Not more than 10 days, not more. That is even stricter. Not more. [voting screen shows 3,538 for, 782 against]

The decision has been adopted. This creates on the whole, I will tell you frankly, as the situation seems to me, a very tough working regime, very tough. I ask you all to bear this in mind.

Gorbachev on Media Coverage

LD0207092290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0806 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Remarks on media coverage of the 28th CPSU Congress by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 28th CPSU Congress on 2 July in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow—live]

[Text] Comrades, the coverage issue: at the Council of Representatives, the following view emerged after debates. I will not waste time—that is what the Council of Delegations is for. The view was that PRAVDA should publish all the congress material in full, but not the full minutes with the various rejoinders and so on, but the substantial things—the reports and speeches fully, without anything cut or removed. In the other central and local party newspapers, there should be accounts of the proceedings. That's how we have always done it. As far as television is concerned, it is proposed here to relay in full the opening and closing of the congress, the reports and report-backs, and to organize daily television reports from the congress, so that the substance, the contents, the main sense of the discussions should be given. We will see. If, within the framework of these proposals, we suddenly see that something we do not like is taking place, I think we will intervene and express our view.

Can we pass that for the time being, comrades? [indistinct interjection] What, television programs? Well, comrades, that is all down to the responsibility of all the news media, of course. The comrades are saying that they've noticed that there is a certain trend in the television coverage—that is how I interpret it—and that a media group needs to be set up to supervise the television relays from the congress. [applause] I do not mean supervise, but work together with television, in a comradely way, so to speak. Okay, comrades? Good. So we will do some work on its membership, and for the moment I will put this approach to the vote. Would the delegates in favor of adopting it please vote. [vote adopted; vote count not televised]

TASS Reports Congress Agenda, Opening

LD0207105190 Moscow TASS in English 1039 GMT 2 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent Lev Aksemov]

[Text] Moscow July 2 TASS—The 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party began here today.

The congress was opened by party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev on the instruction of the Central Committee. He said that 4,683 delegates were elected to the congress; with 4,657 of the total having arrived at the congress for the time being.

The delegates formed working bodies: The Presidium, Secretariat, Editorial and Credentials Commissions. The political report by the party Central Committee will be the first item on the agenda.

At the insistence of many regional organisations which were not satisfied with the work of the party leadership, the agenda includes, as a separate item, reports by members and alternate members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee.

The delegates will hear a report by the party Central Auditing Commission and a report on the party budget and property.

The congress will discuss and adopt the policy-setting statement "Towards a Humane and Democratic Socialism", the rules, the regulations of the Central Auditing Commission and elect the party's governing bdoies.

It is also planned that the congress will approve several resolutions, statements and appeals.

The congress will last ten days, with one of them reserved for work in groups.

Expectations that sparks would fly at the forum were confirmed by the first minutes of its work.

Hardly had Gorbachev opened the congress than Vladimir Bludov, a delegate from the Magadan regional organisation, suggested that the Central Committee and Politburo should immediately resign and that the congress should not elect their members to the congress's government bodies "for failure to implement the food programme and the decisions of the 27th congress and the 19th party conference."

However, the proposal was not supported by delegates.

The agenda was also heatedly debated. Yuriy Boldyrev of Leningrad proposed that the item "The CPSU's political responsibility to the people" be put on the agenda. However, the proposal was voted down.

Delegates also rejected a proposal to hold the congress in two stages, electing the party's governing bodies and adopting policy-setting documents only at the second stage.

Gorbachev began delivering "The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 28th Party Congress and the Party's Tasks" after an interval.

Agenda Detailed

LD0207133390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1144 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jul (TASS)—An information report on the 28th CPSU Congress has been distributed here. It says:

The 28th CPSU Congress began work today in Moscow in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

The congress was opened by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

After an exchange of opinions, delegates elected the congress leading bodies—the Presidium, Secretariat, Drafting and Credentials Commissions.

The congress discussed the agenda formulated by a conference of representatives of delegations and, taking additions into consideration, approved it as follows:

The political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 28th CPSU Congress and tasks of the party.

Reports by members and candidate members of the Politburo and secretaries of the of the CPSU Central Committee.

The report by the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.

On the budget and property of the CPSU.

The program statement of the 28th CPSU Congress "Toward Humane, Democratic Socialism."

CPSU rules.

Regulations on the CPSU Central Control Commission.

Elections of central party bodies.

Resolutions, statements, and appeals of the 28th CPSU Congress.

Regulations for the work of the congress were then approved.

After the break N.A. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers was in the chair.

A report on the first matter on the agenda was delivered by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

TASS Highlights Gorbachev Congress Address

Perestroyka Viewed

LD0207103590 Moscow TASS in English 1024 GMT 2 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow July 2 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev is delivering a political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 28th party congress and the party's tasks. The congress opened here today.

"In five years we have made a revolutionary stride in all spheres of life, and this has enabled us to reach the main watershed," the speaker said. The issue today is this: Either Soviet society will go forward along the path of the profound changes begun—and then, I am convinced, a worthy future is in store for our great multinational state; or else forces opposed to perestroika will gain the upper hand—and then, let us face the facts squarely, dismal times are in store for the country and the people.

"We have to, as they say, 'dot our I's' on all the cardinal issues of the present stage of perestroika, which were at the core of the pre-congress discussion," Gorbachev said.

Among the questions which are to be answered by the delegates Mikhail Gorbachev singled out the following:

Was the turn begun in April 1985 warranted?

What do we today imply by the term "socialism," and what are the principles we intend to be guided by in domestic and foreign policy?

How are the crisis phenomena, which are affecting the people's life and causing justified dissatisfaction, to be overcome?

What is the destiny of our homeland, and how are we going to build up a union of sovereign states?

What is the role of the party in the new conditions? What is it to be like politically, ideologically, and organisationally?

What do we have to do to revive the CPSU as a revolutionary organisation of the working people, enjoying the nation's trust?

Market Economy Transition

LD0207120990 Moscow TASS in English 1151 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 2 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev spoke of the imperative need to accelerate and radicalise the economic reform. "We can no longer tolerate the managerial system that rejects scientific and technological progress, new technologies, that is committed to cost-ineffectiveness, and generates squandering and waste."

He stressed that "much still has to be done to begin the passage to a market economy", which he described "not as a goal in itself, but as a means of making the economy more effective and improving the standard of living."

He singled out turning state enterprises into joint stock companies, granting real freedom of enterprise, leasing small enterprises and shops, and putting up housing, stocks, shares and other equities, as well as part of the means of production, for purchase and sale, among priority measures for transition to a market economy.

Gorbachev further stressed that "we must accelerate the formation of commodity and stock exchanges, and the banking reform, launch an interest rate policy, provide conditions for the emergence of competing enterprises and associations."

"As for the structures of management, they must be reshaped to suit the requirements of a market economy. Strategically, we must set out to eliminate industrial ministries, and reduce their number in the immediate future."

"Filling the sovereignty of republics and of local self-administration with a tangible economic content is of special importance for shaping society's new economic model."

The speaker emphasised that "we would like to see in the new treaty of Union a clear definition of the economic rights of the republics, and the principles governing their mutual relations within a single economic complex."

"Diktat of Union ministries and departments must not give place to republican diktat. The economy must be based on direct ties between independent enterprises."

"Improvement of the Soviet economy depends to no small extent on how it integrates in the system of the international division of labour."

"And the main thing," he stressed, "is to work for the convertibility of the rouble. This matter should not be put off."

"At present, the government is drawing up propoals for the entire set of problems related to economic activity abroad."

"This applies to expanding ties with capitalist countries, and going over to world prices and settlements in hard currency within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. This also concerns revision and introduction of certain correctives in our cooperation with third world countries."

Touching on the problem of reviving the countryside, Gorbachev stressed that it "must be tackled by economic means—establishing equivalent exchange between town and country, giving economic and social priorities to the countryside and the agro-industrial complex as a whole, demonopolising industries that make agricultural machinery, and producing a system of machines that would meet the needs of the diverse forms of farming."

He emphasised that "no investments will help if economic relations do not change, if the peasant does not become true master of the land."

At the same time Mikhail Gorbachev rejected "blanket de- collectivisation".

"The collective farms which go about their business skillfully, will naturally remain an organic part of the renovated soviet countryside. [no closing quote mark received]

However, "those collective farms, that have not put their hearts into their work for decades, that are in the red and live off subsidies, and whose management is obstructing

the reform of property relations and the introduction of new forms of farming—those must undergo cardinal transformations."

He further stressed that "the land act must be abided by most strictly, and, the new powers of the soviets should be used here above all."

Interethnic Problems

LD0207121590 Moscow TASS in English 1153 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] [No dateline as received] Speaking about interethnic problems in the USSR, Gorbachev said that party bodies have been legitimately criticised for faults in their political work and for not being able to conduct it in the setting of deteriorating interethnic relations.

To appeal to all the peoples of the country now on behalf of our congress that they should realise the folly of any further exacerbation of feelings in interethnic relations, that they should halt the hand and repulse the instigators, whatever garb of honour and dignity they may have donned.

At present, as we embark on a succession of deep-going changes in our multinational state, we need tranquility, peace and cooperation in the interests of all nations. I hope that this appeal of our congress will be heard in all parts of the country.

What we lived through and reflected upon in recent times, has caused us to realise that the updating of the Union cannot be confined to mere, even though highly considerable, extention of the rights of the republics and autonomies. What we need is a real union of sovereign states.

What I am referring to, in substance, is a national-state arrangement in our country that would enable us to untie the knots of conflict, to raise cooperation among our peoples to a new level, and multiply the aggregate political power of the Union and its economic and spiritual potential in the interests of all those who have joined hands in our great Union of states.

This will dependably ensure the country's security and enhance its international prestige.

For all this, human rights will retain priority over the interests of national sovereignty and autonomy. This must be entrenched in the constitutional fabric of the Union and each of the republics.

Nor must we depart even an inch from this principle, which guides us on the international plane as well.

Work on a new treaty of union, which will encompass the entire set of questions related to a fundamental transformation of our multinational state, is already under way in the framework of a special commission set up by the Soviet of the Federation.

Political Reform

LD0207122190 Moscow TASS in English 1205 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 2 TASS—Speaking on the course of political reform in the USSR in his report to the 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Mikhail Gorbachev today described the democratic formation of new institutions of authority from top to bottom as one of the principal accomplishments of perestroika.

Without them, he said, Soviet society would be unable to attain a new level of revolutionary transformation.

The process of political reform is marked by difficulties because it affects the interests of diverse social sections of the population, millions of people engaged in management, Gorbachev said.

Without political reform, he observed, the growing politicisation of society could have acquired a chaotic character fraught with explosive social consequences.

In the present conditions, when society is tense and anxious, the 28th party congress will carry out its mission only if it acts responsibly and defines immediate aims and tasks and a programme of action that will consolidate society as well as the party, Gorbachev said.

The party general secretary said the party must facilitate the work of the newly created bodies of people's power.

Gorbachev expressed the view that the congress should deepen the analysis of the current situation and state its assessments and proposals for strengthening law and order.

He stressed the need to see clearly the direct interrelationship between law and order and the level of political and social stability in the country.

Gorbachev emphasised that party organisations should publicly state that the Soviet Communist Party is opposed to any pressure on law-enforcement bodies.

On spiritual rebirth and ideological renewal in Soviet society, Gorbachev stressed that these are indispensible conditions for any political, social and economic changes.

He recalled that absurd bans on intellectual life are being lifted at the party's initiative. Steps are being undertaken to overcome the gap that has formed in recent decades between party organisations and intelligentsia.

Party bodies stopped patronising and regulating creative organisations. The formation of new relations between the party and intellectuals is one of the gains of perestroika and also an important prerequisite for further advancement, Gorbachev said.

He stressed the need for immediate measures to eliminate the conditions that lead to a brain drain.

East-West Relations Viewed

LD0207122690 Moscow TASS in English 1207 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 2 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev said that in the conduct of Soviet foreign policy, the Soviet leadership became convinced that "we are right in our understanding of three key premises of international relations."

First, he said, it is impossible to ensure one's own security at the expense of anybody else's, to uphold one's own interests at the expense of anybody else's and to pretend to know better how other peoples and nations should manage their affairs. The recognition of every people's freedom of choice is a fundamental precondition for building up a new type of world order.

Second, Gorbachev continued, it is impossible to bring about a prosperous, free and democratic society by doing it alone and by setting one's option of societal development up against other options. What is imperative in our times is co-development, co-creativity and cooperation.

And, third, the incorporation of the Soviet economy in the world economy is necessary not only for the modernisation of "our own economy but also for the construction, together with other peoples, of the material foundation of an irreversibly peaceful period of history and for the resolution of the global problems of humanity," Gorbachev told the delegates.

The Soviet leader described cooperation in the conversion of defence production as one of the promising areas of integration.

In consequence of perestroika and the new thinking, Gorbachev said, there has been a swing in relations between the USSR and the USA—from confrontation and competition in the arms race to mutual understanding and even to partnership—in a number of issues. This has changed the entire world situation for the better and started off a movement towards an unprecedented peaceful period in the life of humanity.

Gorbachev said relations with China have been normalised, which is a matter of tremendous importance for both great nations and the world as a whole.

A process of actual disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, he continued, has got under way for the first time in Europe. The European process has begun to produce an unprecedented form of international relationship of scores of nations and peoples.

Speaking about changes in Eastern Europe, Gorbachev stressed that where these countries will go in their social and economic development will depend on the peoples concerned. In this context, he said that the Soviet Union has acted and will act in strict compliance with the principle of the freedom of choice, which has become an imperative for the progress and a condition for the survival of all modern civilisation.

The Soviet Union will build its relations with the East European countries as with good neighbours, he said.

Party Policy Discussed

LD0207123590 Moscow TASS in English 1225 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 2 TASS—"The communists and the rest of the community are waiting for the congress to reply to the key issues about the party itself.

"The party is now in a natural and, at the same time, difficult process of rethinking its own role in the community and of the principles of its structure and methods of activity, which have developed over the decades. The old ideas about the CPSU need a criticial reappraisal and essential modification.

"The CPSU is emphatically against dogmatism and scholastic reasoning and in favour of a consistently creative approach to the theory and practice of socialism and to the comprehension of the historical experience of the 20th century and of the heritage of Marx, Engels and Lenin and other eminent exponents of revolutionary and progressive thought.

"The pre-congress discussion has generated a wide range of opinions as to the principles to follow in party-building and party work in present-day conditions.

"But there is a point of convergence. This is the realisation that the party has neither the political nor the moral right to absolve itself from the responsibility for the destiny of the reform programme, to shirk its role and to retire to the wayside of the social process."

Speaking about the updated CPSU Gorbachev pointed out that it will be a party of the socialist option and communist perspective, a voluntary association of like-minded people, expressing through its policy the interests of the working class, the farming community, the intellectuals and professional people, a party committed to common human and humanistic ideals, sensitive to national traditions and aspirations and, at the same time, intolerant of chauvinism, jingoism and racism, and any manifestation of reactionary ideology and obscurantism, a party freed from its ideological blinkers and dogmatism, striving for a resourceful role in political and ideological processes, acting by the methods of persuasion and propagation of its policy, promoting a relationship of dialogue, discussion, cooperation and partnership with all of the nation's progressive social and political forces.

"A vanguard or parliamentary party. [sentence as received] By speaking up for amending Articles 6 and 7 of the Constitution of the USSR, the party has officially dropped its claim to substitute itself for government bodies and to discharge administrative and managerial functions.

"The party will pursue its policy and work to retain the mandate of the ruling party within the bounds of the democratic process, involving elections for legislative

institutions at national and local level. In this sense it will operate as a parliamentary party.

"I think our congress will definitely come out in favour of broad cooperation with all parties and public movements and consolidation in the interests of perestroika and the people."

Public Organizations Viewed

LD0207145490 Moscow TASS in English 1443 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 2 TASS—Addressing the 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party today, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the party's relations with trade unions and other workers' organisations will rest on principles of partnership.

He cautioned party committees at enterprises against interfering in trade unions' affairs.

Speaking of the party's social base, Gorbachev said that the CPSU, being a party of the socialist choice, will continue to rely on the working class, farmers and intellectuals.

On the party's relations with the communist parties of Union republics, Gorbachev pointed out that the Soviet Communist Party's integrity corresponds to the maximum independence of the communist parties of Union and autonomous republics and not in the least restricts their possibilities to reckon with national, local and other peculiarities and handle their personnel, financial and other matters at their discretion.

Gorbachev said that a split will contribute to the consolidation of other political forces, which already happened in the Baltic republics.

It is necessary to draw lessons from those developments and try to find new approaches to strengthening the party's internationalist integrity, Gorbachev remarked.

Combined, the communists present a powerful political force. If they retreat into national quarters, they will lose this force.

Gorbachev observed that the draft party statute envisages several mechanisms for agreeing the interests of republican communist parties with the interests of the party as a whole.

It is important that neither party should rise above others and have a chance to impose its will on them, Gorbachev said.

He categorically opposed the depolitisation of state structures and favoured the preservation of party organisations at production units.

The principle of the party's production setup meets the established tradition and there are no grounds to depart from this principle, Gorbachev emphasised.

Central Committee Praised

LD0207145890 Moscow TASS in English 1446 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 2 TASS—Soviet Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev today said the party Central Committee, elected four and a half years ago at the 27th party congress, was for the most part able to cope with its principal tasks despite the novelty and scope of the problems encountered at what he described as a very complicated, and in a way dramatic, time for Soviet society.

Addressing the 28th party congress, he said the Central Committee had to work to advance perestroika in conditions where the course of developments made it look for new approaches all the time and rethink what had seemed well-considered and clear before.

Gorbachev said that the Central Committee worked fairly hard, conducting 22 plenums, or twice as many as envisaged by the party rules, and that each of these meetings was of fundamental, watershed significance.

He said that with all the diverse opinions and clashing positions, the plenums took mostly unanimous decisions on all crucial issues.

Even if criticised now, the Central Committee did a lot to further perestroika and revolutionary change, Gorbachev stressed.

But he also noted that the Central Committee did not always respond to the requirements of life or do that quickly enough and did not always find the right solutions in time.

However, he said the party leadership's performance should be judged by the scale of perestroika and their contribution to it.

The Central Committee, Gorbachev argued, proved able to carry on the revolutionary change and did a great deal towards this end. Yet, he admitted that much more could have been done to spare the nation many of the adverse developments that generated social tension.

As he concluded his address to the congress, Gorbachev said that the country is facing uphill tasks and that the party sees the way out of the crisis only in greater democracy and continued perestroika.

Yakovlev Says No Coup Danger at Congress

LD0207111390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1015 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, July 2 (TANJUG)—Aleksandr Yakovlev, a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, today said that there was no danger that the conservative forces and the Army stage a coup in the Soviet Union.

Yakovlev told the Soviet news agency APN which is conducting a poll among the participants in the party

congress, that is, among top officials, that the generals who attacked President Mikhail Gorbachev's reformist policy do not reflect the wishes of the Army and society.

Asked whether there will be a split within the party, Yakovlev said that it should not happen. On the next party president, he said that there was no other candidate other than Gorbachev. Yakovlev said he would not run for the office of party vice-president.

No Foreign Parties Officially Invited to Congress

LD2906200790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Video report by unidentified correspondent interviewing people leaving the Kremlin following CPSU Central Committee plenum on 29 June—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified man getting into chauffer-driven car] (?In an organized way) and that's all. We came to agreement, and so we are coming to the congress in organized fashion.

[Correspondent] On Monday?

[Man] Yes.

[Correspondent] What are you bringing to it, was that discussed?

[Man] Yes. A good platform, a good report, and so... a good mood.

[Correspondent] Were there any disputes about anything?

[Man] No. No. No. The opinion was unanimous.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

[Boris Yeltsin] There were remarks about the report, of course, and quite serious ones, but I think that all the disputes are still ahead.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

[A.I. Volskiy, member of CPSU Central Committee] We will be watching it on television. Although this is very expensive, R5 million, according to Comrade Nenashev.

[Correspondent] This was discussed as well?

[Volskiy] This was discussed as well.

[Correspondent] And what was the attitude to this?

[Volskiy] It's expensive, they say.

[Correspondent] But they decided on it nevertheless?

[Volskiy] They decided on it anyway.

[Correspondent] Whose money will it be?

[Volskiy] The party's money. He presented a bill for the Russian Congress of about R5 million to the party.

[Correspondent] And who will pay this money?

[Volskiy] The money will be paid by the CPSU Central Committee.

[Correspondent, speaking to V.V. Grigoryev, first secretary of Vitebsk Oblast Committee of Belorussian CP] Do you have any expectations, for example, that a certain number of delegates will be there at the beginning of the congress, and a smaller number at the end?

[Grigoryev] What I would like is for there to be as many delegates at the end as at the beginning.

[Correspondent] How confident are you about that?

[Grigoryev] Not too confident.

[Correspondent, speaking to Yu.V. Petrov, USSR ambassador to Cuba] Will there be representatives of Cuba at the congress?

[Petrov] Like all of them—there have been no official invitations to communist parties. It is planned for our congress to be a working congress, and that is correct, in general, we must examine these issues seriously and sort things out. As for Cuba, a special delegation has arrived, but as for an official delegation, I repeat, as there used to be, with someone from the party leadership at its head...

[Correspondent, interrupting] By official invitaion...

[Petrov] Yes. There has been none of that this year, there have been no invitations at all to the congress. (?I think) that representatives of other fraternal parties will be arriving.

Congress Seen as 'Last Hope' for Party Unity

LD0107164790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] Our correspondent Andrey Nikiforov interviewed Viktor Nikolayevich Yaroshenko, delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Begin recording] [Nikoforov] Viktor Nikolayevich, perhaps a fairly traditional question, but all the same, what thoughts and feelings are you taking to the 28th CPSU Congress?

[Yaroshenko] Well, unfortunately, I am going to the 28th CPSU Congress without any particular optimism. Concerning the very course of the congress preparations: What we are seeing now, a few hours before the opening of the congress is that the delegates have no documents, neither the standing orders, nor the agenda, nor the latest version of the CPSU'S Platform, nor the theses of the general secretary's report. We have nothing of this sort. What are we going to discuss, and how are we going to discuss it? On what issues will we register to speak? Nothing is clear. The impression is being created as if the congress has not been prepared.

We had the same impression on the eve of the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies and after a while

we understood that we had been mistaken. Things were precooked at home as it were, the congress had been excellently prepared by the apparatus, and everything that happend at the ostensibly unprepared First Congress of People's Deputies was excellently prepared. As a result, there was the complete routing of the Moscow Club, of the group of radically minded deputies.

I fear the scenario might repeat itself here too. Evidently the dress rehearsal took place at the Russian congress, the Russian congress at which Comrade Polzkov was elected first secretary, whose candidacy for this post was being predicted and recommended two months beforehand by Nina Andreyeva. Polozkov is well-know, very well-known for his antirestructuring views, his antimarket views. We do not regard ourselves now as members of the Russian Communist Party, and if the same thing happens at the 28th congress, we will have no choice but to leave the CPSU, and then there will be a completely new political situation.

[Nikoforov] Viktor Nilolayevich, excuse me but I must pose this second question: Insofar as you are an economist, a major economist—you have shown this in your work in the country's parliament—what do you feel about the country's current economic situation, and perhaps a few words about the market?

[Yaroshenko] The situation that has taken shape is catastrophic. The government skillfully linked the transition to a market with a package of proposals to increase prices, thereby simply triggering an allergy among the population to the market. It must be said that what puts me on guard in the preparations for the congress is that the CPSU, being the governing party should have a clear economic platform. The CPSU should have clearly taken up its position: What is its attitude toward denationalization, toward private property, toward tax rates, toward interest for bank credit, on some of the most important economic questions issues? It is not there. For this reason, we in this group of people's deputies which ballotted in the Democratic Platform, supported by the interregional group, and Democratic Russia at various levels, we have prepared alternative proposals to the CPSU's economic platform. It is difficult for us to say whether or not they are alternative because we do not have the official, basic documents on the CPSU's economic platform. In a word, the first days of the congress's work will show a great deal: Either the congress will follow the Russian scenario, and as I have already said, this will also lead to a mass exodus from the CPSU. [sentence as heard] As far as I am aware of the mood of many other USSR people's deputies, dozens of them are prepared to do this. The last hope is this congress. It may become decisive. The symptoms today are the symptoms of a grave illness. [end recording]

Polozkov Appeals for Dialogue With Reformers

AU0107155090 Paris AFP in English 1531 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, July 1 (AFP)—Ivan Polozkov, the conservative leader of the Russian Communist Party, appealed to reformist communists on Sunday, including Russian President Boris Yeltsin, to remain within the Soviet Communist Party. Speaking ahead of the opening Monday of a congress of the Soviet Communist Party, he told SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper: "Certain political forces on the eve of the congress have overdramatized the situation and have managed to bring about near hysteria in society." These forces "spur on emotions by talking about splits" in the party, said Mr. Polozkov, who was elected two weeks ago as first secretary of the newly founded Russian Communist Party. "It seems important to me, from the tactical point of view, not to give in to attempts by small-minded politicians to worsen the situation in the sphere of power," he added.

Mr. Polozkov appealed for dialogue with the reformist members of Democratic Platform who have recently threatened to leave the party if conservatives, as expected, win the upper hand. One of the leading members of the Democratic Platform is Mr. Yeltsin, who, however, since his election as president of the Russian parliament, has said he wants to stand above factions. "There are forces prodding Yeltsin to burn his bridges with the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union)," Mr. Polozkov said, adding that he had "deep respect" for his former rival who beat him in the presidential race.

Mr. Polozkov said there can be no compromises with the "irreconcilable opposition" or "liquidators in the party." Those elements within Democratic Platform who sought to transform the party into a social-democratic organisation should quit the party, he said, and could hold a congress in September to set up their own separate party.

The Communist Party "must win the confidence of the people in the conditions of (political) pluralism," Mr. Polozkov said. "We too must learn to use the methods of parliamentary struggle."

Gorbachev Chairs Delegates' Meeting 30 June

PM0107191590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Conference of Delegations' Representatives"]

[Text] A session of the council of representatives of the delegations of republican, kray, and oblast party organizations which have arrived for the 28th CPSU Congress was held 30 June under the chairmanship of M.S. Gorbachev. Proposals concerning the agenda, the order of work, and the standing orders were elaborated and certain other issues were examined.

CPSU Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members, and CPSU Central Committee secretaries participated in the session.

Platforms Form Congress 'Democratic Unity Bloc'

LD0107075290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] Yesterday representatives of the council of party organization secretaries who are delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress, belonging to the coordination councils of the Democratic and Marxist platforms of the CPSU, met. Representatives of delegations from various areas of our country were present. A decision was adopted to set up a democratic unity bloc at the congress to defend the principles of democratic transformations in the party.

Democratic Platform Delegates Assess Congress

LD2906153690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1330 GMT on 29 June carries the 30-minute "Political Dialogues" program, in which announcer Yuriy Mironov conducts interviews with delegates to the second all-Union conference of the Democratic Platform Inside the CPSU. He asks them to look ahead to the 28th CPSU Congress, assess the failings of the CPSU in its present form, and give their views on whether it is better to leave the party or to try to reform it from inside.

Professor Vyacheslav Nikolayevich Shostakovskiy, member of the Coordinating Council of the Democratic Platform inside the CPSU, criticizes the party press for not publicizing the alternative party platforms; he says he wants the party to be a normal political organization untrammelled by dogma, but adds that the party should only be held to account as a system and individuals should not be pursued for their personal actions. he continues: "We're not going to have any more dictatorial parties. We'll have the parties that society wants. That is what this conference demonstrated clearly. If the views of the majority of delegates are anything to go by, were our proposals and demands not to be adopted at the CPSU congress, this could signify that we will quit the party and set up a new political structure, a new political organization. I hope that that could be an open political force which will constitute a kind of pivot for the bloc of democratic forces in the country." Differences among democratic forces play into the hands of conservatives, Shostakovskiy says.

Looking ahead to the 28th CPSU Congress, he says: "I think that many members of the old Central Committee and the first secretaries of many party committees are disposed to sacrifice everything, and I think they are even prepared to sacrifice the general secretary, so long as they keep this internal party in power."

Next, V.N. Lysenko, member of the Coordinating Council of the Democratic Platform Inside the CPSU and a delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress, says that "a very great deal" will depend on Gorbachev at the congress, since the Russian party conference "showed that Gorbachehv's attempt to find some sort of compromise with conservative forces proved unsuccessful". He goes on: "I think that in order to gain the support of the genuinely democratic and progressive forces of the country, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev should fundamentally change his tactics, his behavior, and his attitude to the processes under way in the party at the moment. Otherwise we could get a situation where forces as conservative as those that came to power in the Russian Communist Party could come to power in the whole party at the 28th CPSU Congress. In particular, it is well-known that Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev intends to put forward his candidacy for general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee."

Democratic Platform Views Possible Congress Split

LD3006225690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Report by correspondent Kiselev; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Kiselev] The delegates of the Democratic Platform discussed the question of their possible separation from the CPSU today, should the congress not support a radical reform of the party. At the congress, the Democratic Platform is so far planning to submit a co-report and a package of alternative program documents for the party. [video shows people sitting in a hall, being addressed by a speaker captioned as V.N. Lysenko. Camera focuses on some to show their Democratic Platform badges]

[Lysenko, to audience] They did not let the Democratic Platform come anywhere near the mechanisms of how the decisions are adopted, or to the preparation of the 28th congress. They simply took scissors and glue and cut out anything that looked attractive from the Democratic Platform and put it in the documents of the CPSU Central Committee.

[Kiselev] [video shows people standing up and speaking at the meeting] The idea these new Mensheviks, as it were, boils down to destroying the totalitarian structure in the CPSU, and to giving up communism as the aim of social development, because of the utopian nature of the theory itself.

[B.N. Shostakovskiy] [video shows Shostakovskiy Kiselev in room] If you are to speak of the future of our party, you must make a political structure such that no executive body, none, at any level, including the level of the Central Committee, should have the possibility of issuing decrees [prikazyvat], and certainly not of issuing decrees to millions of people.

[Kiselev] The Democratic Platform is counting on a struggle if not on a victory at the congress. Withdrawal is an extreme measure.

[Unidentified speaker] This question must be tackled either after the ending of the congress, or, best of all, at regional conferences of the Demcoratic Platform so that if there is a schism the withdrawal from the party must be well organized.

[kiselev] At the congress two percent of the delegates will represent the Democratic Platform, but these people consider they enjoy the support of 40 percent of communists in the party as a whole.

[Lysenko] [video again shows him addressing meeting recording starts in mid-sentence] ...the whole people, the whole country, and in this respect, I think that even if there are not many of us there—two percent of the delegates—but I think that much more may depend on the way the democratic part acts, on us, on the votes of these 100 people, than on what the remaining 5,000 may say. [as heard]

Press Center Chief Previews Congress

LD2906182590 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 29 Jun 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow June 29 TASS—Responding to questions of journalists, Aleksandr Kaptov said that a chairman or, if the congress decides, a general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, "wound probably be elected by all deputies to the forthcoming forum." He also pointed out that, according to statements made by participants in the plenary meeting, "at the present stage it is expedient to combine the posts of president and chairman, or general secretary, of the party Central Committee."

A meeting of representatives of delegations from party organisations, that came to attend the congress, will be held on Saturday, Kaptov said. The meeting will work out "preliminary proposals on all working bodies of the congress, including the Secretariat and the presidium."

"Four thousand six hundred and eighty three delegates to the congress have been elected, including 333 intellectuals (7.2 per cent), 53 representatives of mass media (1.1 per cent), 1,005 representatives of the industry, construction, transport and communication (21.5 per cent), 363 senior executives on all levels (7.8 per cent), 362 collective farmers and 269 servicemen of the army and the navy. There are 344 women among the delegates."

Kapto also said that it is the participants in the forthcoming forum who would decide in what form and volume the congress would be broadcast.

Comments on Congress Report

LD2906223490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Jun 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] Comrade Kaptov, head of the press center for the 28th party congress, described the discussion at the CPSU Central Committee plenum which has just finished as constructive, principled and benevolent. He gave a report on the plenum today for Soviet and foreign journalists. The head of the press center said most of the wishes of its participants, who heard the exposition by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on the basic theoretical and political tenets of the report which he is to give at the communists' forum, amount to adding more specificity and preciseness, and at times to expanding on individual features. In particular, where the subject matter is the transition to a regulated market economy, the need exists for more thorough elaborations to be proposed—not confining oneself to general tenets. Comrades supported deepening and extending the description of the current political situation. The wish was expressed that a political evaluation of the congress of Russian communists and the forums of communists in other Union republics be given in the report. The issue of the name of the report was also raised. Its wording, it was noted, did not reflect report aspects sufficiently. Journalists were informed at the press conference that the report would be called: "The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 28th Congress and the Tasks of the Party."

During the time remaining until 1000 am on 2 July when the congress opens, Comrade Kapto stressed, the Politburo must finish work on the report, taking into account the discussion which has taken place. [passage omitted]

Public Opinion on CPSU Congress Cited

LD2906175190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1030 GMT on 29 June carries a 10-minute report by correspondent Andrey Nikiforov who is observing the registration of delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress at Georgiyevskiy Hall in the Kremlin.

/Nikiforov says that among the other things which delegates are being issued with upon registeering is a sociological questionnaire. The delegates fill it in there and then and hand it over to the sociological center of the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, which is processing the data. This center has a number of scientists on its staff which is quite sufficient in order to produce the necessary information promptly.

After introducing his reportage, Nikiforov then goes on to interview professor Zhan Terentyevich Toshchenko, doctor of philosophy, director of the center, about the work being done by the sociological center. Toshchenko has in front of him sheets of paper received from a machine last night. It is an all-Union public opinion poll on the expectations and problems which worry Soviet people in connection with the 28th CPSU Congress. Almost 90 percent of the 1,600 people polled said they will follow the congress. The range of sentiments experienced by people in connection with this is fairly contradictory, ranging from hope to indifference and doubt about the congress passing off fairly successfully. While approving the congress decisions, almost every second person voices doubt as to whether or not the CPSU will be conducive to overcoming the crisis in society.

Statements here are connected with the fact that "we tried to elucidate what is alarming people most of all now, in the present-day life of society" on the basis of all sample worries people express in the press, at meetings, and in everyday conversations. "But I would stress the following four factors that worry people: first, the problems of our economic disorder, the deterioration of the economic situation—but at the same time there is the question of the growth of violence, of the crime in society—there are also the ethnic problems, and ecological problems. And these four main indices are completed by the lack of social protection. People are not certain that even now, at the present time, an effective protection of their interests has been created in our society." And it is this background which has influenced virtually every third person polled to say that he has no reason to rely on any organizations: "I will rely on myself."

Another feature being noted is that of total criticism, which rejects all official political structures. It is no longer only the party that is being criticized, but the government, the Supreme Soviet, and even informal organizations are being criticized. As regards the assessment of the government's stand as regards a transfer to the market economy, it must be said that a majority of people are in favor of the market while most of them—that is to say, two-thirds—are afraid of it because it is often linked with lowering of people's living standard and a rise in prices. Virtually every second person believes that it is not necessary to insist on only one of the forms of ownership and that a combination of them will probably be effective. Virtually every second person's attitude to cooperatives is mainly negative or entirely negative, whereas a year ago only approximately 20 percent gave such answers.

As regards the way the work of the congress of Russian communists has been assessed, this is very contradictory. "Well, in our view, an even greater number of people is inclining toward sharing the idea of a Russian creation and the fact of the realization of this idea. As regards the idea, no doubts arise. But as regards the fact and as to how the idea has been implemented, here fairly serious critical remarks arise, down to, as you probably know, certain communists having suspended their party membership or having said that they will be CPSU members but will not be members of the newly-created party. Well, many of them have said that they will await the 28th party congress and only after this will they make a final decision."

Party Leaders' Delegate Election Detailed

90UN2214A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 24 Jun 90 p 3

[Letter to the editor of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA and response by I. Yermakov: "Where Were the Delegates Elected?"]

[Text] *"Where were the members and candidate members of the Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretaries elected as delegates of the 28th CPSU Congress?"*

[Signed] S. F etisov, Arkhangelsk Oblast.

Fifteen of the highest party leaders were victorious during elections in city and rayon electoral districts of the country: M. Gorbachev, V. Kryuchkov, Yu. Maslyukov, N. Ryzhkov, E. Shevardnadze, and A. Yakovlev—in Moscow; L. Zaykov—in the city of Donskoy, Tula Oblast; V. Ivashko—in the district which joins Solonyanskiy and Tomakovskiy Rayons, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast; Ye. Ligachev—in the district which joins Ivnyanskiy and Prokhorovskiy Rayons, Belgorod Oblast; V. Medvedev—in the district comprised of Dokshitskiy and Lepelskiy Rayons, Vitebsk Oblast; A. Lukyanov—in the district consisting of Kardymovskiy and Smolenskiy Rayons, Smolensk Oblast; A. Girenko—in Genicheskiy Rayon, Kherson Oblast; Yu. Manayenkov—in Volovskiy Rayon, Lipetsk Oblast; Ye. Stroyev—in Dolzhanskiy, Kolpnyanskiy, and Maloarkhangelskiy Rayons, Orel Oblast; G. Usmanov—in the city of Chistopol and Novosheshminskiy Rayon, Tatar ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic].

Seven individuals were elected delegates at regional party forums: A. Biryukova—by the Kirghiz Communist Party Congress; A. Vlasov—by the Rostov Oblast Conference; Ye. Primakov—by the North Ossetian Oblast Conference; B. Pugo—by the Dushanbe City Conference; G. Razumovskiy—by the Latvian Communist Party Congress; D. Yazov—by the Far East Military District Conference; I. Frolov—by the Chimkent Oblast Conference.

O. Baklanov will represent the party organization of the "Yuzhnoye" Scientific Production Association at the Congress. V. Vorotnikov and N. Slyunkov did not consent to being nominated.

The following individuals had no rivals in the elections: V. Medvedev, A. Biryukova, A. Vlasov, A. Lukyanov, Ye. Primakov, B. Pugo, Yu. Manayenkov, Ye. Stroyev, and I. Frolov. The most intense preelection campaign took place in Khoroshevskiy Rayon of Moscow, where A. Yakovlev was a candidate. Here 65 candidates competed for six seats.

The communist electorate was practically unanimous in its support for I. Frolov—99% voting "for;" Ye. Stroyev—98.8%; and Ye. Primakov—98.7%. The greatest numer of votes "against" were cast with respect to L. Zaykov—38.5%; M. Gorbachev—38.1%; and N. Ryzhkov—36%.

Moscow, Leningrad Rallies Criticize Party

LD0107215290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Video Report from Moscow by correspondent Milyanchikov and from Leningrad by correspondent S. Dukhavin; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The positions and political face of many organizations, groups and individual leaders are becoming clear in heated discussions and disputes at rallies. The passions in society raged today on the very

eve of the 28th CPSU Congress. Here are video reports from Moscow and Leningrad.

[Milyanchikov] As the Moscow Soviet informed us, today's rally, organized by the United Front of Working People, UFWP, was the only one in the city. Its theme was support for the 28th CPSU Congress. It seems that Muscovites have already had enough of rallies and demonstrations. They have been convinced of the ineffectiveness of the many decisions and resolutions adopted at them, and for this reason there were only several hundred people at the rally today in Luzhniki. These were either active supporters of the front or simply Muscovites out for a walk on a summer evening.

The speakers on the tribunal were at times opposed in their views; probably the only thing that united them was criticism of everything achieved in these years. They criticized everything—the party leadership and the government, deputies and economists, [military] conversion and freedom of the press. Unfortunately during the short time we were here we did not hear a single constructive proposal the UFWP is taking to the congress.

[S. Dukhavin] Organized by the Leningrad Union of Electors, the Leningrad Public Front and other public groupings quite a number of Leningraders gathered, as you can see. The rally's theme was borrowed from the well-known publicist film, "It's Impossible To Live Like This" [tak zhit nelzya], and in fact the majority of speakers spoke about the main sore points of our life. The rally was aimed at the CPSU congress which opens on Monday, and for this reason there were many words of criticism aimed at the party, first and foremost at the party apparatus. There were calls for repentance and even for the self-disbanding of the CPSU. There were also calls to create a new party. Signatures were collected to add to the appeal to the 28th congress. Publications by various public groups were handed out. Unfortunately, we did not see a single party worker among the speakers, at least not during the first 40 minutes during which we were at the meeting.

Yeltsin Opposes 'So-Called Unanimity' in CPSU

LD0107122190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Text] Yesterday in Moscow, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and member of the CPSU Central Committee, met delegates to the 28th Party Congress and secretaries of primary party organizations. Comrade Yeltsin noted that the CPSU may conform to democratic tendencies if the congress follows a path of party renewal and a changing of its structures. He came out in favor of the presence of various platforms in the CPSU, and against so-called unanimity.

Party Control Chairman Pugo Interviewed

PM2906115790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jun 90 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed interview with B.K. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; place and date of interview not given; under the rubric "A Comment Ahead of the 28th CPSU Congress": "Do Not Expose Faults But Rectify Them In Time"]

[Text] [PRAVDA] Boris Karlovich, you were appointed Party Control Committee chairman at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in September 1988. Did you settle down well in the work of the party's supreme control organ? Did do fulfill your role, do you think?

[Pugo] Do you know what struck me straight away? When familiarizing myself with the materials prepared for examination at committee sittings, I just could not understand how our inspections differ from the work of people's control. Yes, major questions were studied, by no means trivial ones, but they were all connected as a rule with economic activity. Is it really the task of party control to study problems relating to intensive oil refining, for example? Sometimes we went to quite absurd lengths examining cases involving the beer trade aboard passenger ships of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of the River Fleet.

I will go further and say that the Party Control Committee's very structure was formed in such a way as to monitor the work of ministries and departments and keep tabs on how individual sectors or even individual enterprises develop. Special monitoring groups were set up for that purpose. In brief, the Party Control Committee's work then bore an imprint characteristic of the activity of many other party organs. Meanwhile, a whole range of questions of vital importance for the party fell outside our remit. I have in mind the implementation of party decisions on developing democracy, glasnost, collegiality, the struggle against bureaucracy, local favoritism, departmentalism, and so forth.

[PRAVDA] What specific changes have there been in the Party Control Committee's work in the past two years?

[Pugo] First we reorganized the committee apparatus and directed it toward monitoring the observance of statutory norms in party organizations. What was the result? We do less work on current economic questions now. We turned our attention from inspecting various organs to investigating their leaders—party members—their work style, and specific violations for which they bear personal responsibility.

New forms of work appeared, too. For example, comprehensive inspections in which virtually all control groups take part. In this way we studied questions of the practical examination of cases of the party's rehabilitation of victims of the repressions in the years of the personality cult,

communists' surrender of their party cards, and job placement for people expelled from the CPSU.

I would stress the main point—we focused our attention primarily on questions affecting the party's life and how to heal it.

[PRAVDA] Since you mentioned the word heal, that presumably means there is an ailment?

[Pugo] Yes, unfortunately that is so. The party has honestly recognized that the malaise of bureaucracy, abuses, and incompetence afflicted quite a few Communists, particularly leaders. Furthermore, this malaise was chronic, with recurrences. It is bitter and hard to talk about this. When there are unworthy people in the party's ranks, its prestige is seriously harmed.

[PRAVDA] PRAVDA's mailbag contains quite a few letters in which writers ask: Why have the so-called apostles of stagnation still not been made to account to the party?

[Pugo] The party has given a political assessment of the period of complicity [popustitelstvo]. It is another matter that people should answer personally for idleness, conciliation, or wrong decisions. Not years later, either, but immediately. I say frankly: The Party Control Committee is also to blame here for its lack of perseverance and perhaps courage, too, but the most important elements that were missing were rights and powers.

[PRAVDA] Might it be said that the Party Control Committee is hampered by the preposition "under" in its title [full title is Party Control Committee under the CPSU Central Committee]?

[Pugo] Clearly it is. That preposition expresses the actual status of control organs in the party's life.

It is clear now that the administrative edict system of leadership established in the early 30's drastically restricted the potential of party control. The main blow to its democratic nature came from the abolition of the principle of electivity. As a result, party control lost its mass character and the independence which it gained under V.I. Lenin's plan and became the prerogative of a relatively small circle of workers appointed by party committees. Thereby the party control organs were essentially incorporated into the administrative edict system with all the ensuing consequences.

The negative phenomena that resulted from that are well known. Restricted in their actions, party control organs were simply unable to resist the establishment of voluntarist and bureaucratic methods of leadership in the party or the infiltration of its ranks by sundry casual people. As for the top party leadership, it was virtually removed from party control.

In view of the tasks facing the party at the present stage, control organs are now being created which will be elected at congresses and conferences and will be accountable to them. These organs will be completely autonomous in their decisions and will be, as it were, a sort of guarantee against subjectivism, arbitrariness, and the influence of personal and random factors on party policy.

[PRAVDA] The following idea has been expressed in the precongress discussion: Is there any need for internal self-criticism under a multiparty system? The expediency of creating new party control organs is essentially cast in doubt.

[Pugo] I have also heard people say: "We are being attacked on all sides, why go on pulling ourselves apart." I do not accept that. On the contrary, the role of control organs is increasing today. Competition with other parties demands that we keep order in our own home. That we help to boost communists' prestige. And wage an uncompromising struggle against everything which turns man away from the party. The Central Control Commission, communists believe, must be the organ of the party's moral health.

[PRAVDA] Will the creation of independent control commissions not lead to the emergence of parallel structures within the party? What is your view?

[Pugo] There can be no question of a dyarchy. Party committees and control commissions have completely different tasks. The former are organs of leadership, the latter of discipline.

I would like to repeat that party control is required to focus its efforts primarily on the struggle against bureaucratic distortions in the actions of cadres and their alienation from working people, on deepening democratization at all levels of party work, and on strengthening the party's principled unity.

As you can see, the new organs have a broad sphere of activity. The main point is not to get bogged down in petty or mundane daily matters but to work on major questions of principle, the trouble spots, so to speak.

Of course, it is necessary first of all to protect the party against unworthy people. Against hangers-on and fellow-travelers. Parting company with them is a normal phenomenon. But that is not enough. It is also necessary to ensure the conditions in which the way will be opened within the party to the real supporters of perestroyka, honest, principled, and resourceful people. In brief, people of action rather than fine phrases. Here, too, the tasks facing control organs essentially coincide with those of party organizations, particularly primary organizations.

[PRAVDA] Does that mean, if I may put it like this, that the constructive functions of control are coming to the forefront?

[Pugo] Yes. And Vladimir Ilich Lenin drew attention to that in his day. The task of control, he noted, is not only and not even so much to "catch" or "expose" as to rectify in time.

I want to stress this in particular. When carrying out inspections, we are certainly not trying to gather "denunciatory facts." The task is broader—it is to find out and study the causes of particular shortcomings. Furthermore, we do not do this work single-handedly or covertly but together with party organizations. Clearly, no control organ can keep tabs on everything or monitor all and sundry. And that would be simply wrong, particularly today when the democratization of society and glasnost have given rank and file communists the opportunity to exert real influence on the life of the party and its cadres.

In this context, I would note what I see as a fundamental point. As many workers and peasants as possible must be delegated to the new organs. Perhaps they will make up one-half of the Party Control Committee's staff. I am convinced that it is control by the broad party masses that must be the crucial link in that safety system which we are now creating to protect the party against randomness and high-handedness.

[PRAVDA] Boris Karlovich, at the beginning of our conversation you said that the committee is moving away from purely economic questions. Does that mean that the economy will be outside your remit?

[Pugo] No party in the world avoids the solution of socioeconomic problems. There is no need to go into the technical details, of course. But the party is entitled to know how its members regard their assignment and those problems which affect the people's interests most of all. And not only to know about, but also to give the appropriate party assessment to communist leaders' actions. There is no supplanting of state organs in this.

[PRAVDA] People often think that the Party Control Committee is basically a punitive organ. Is that so?

[Pugo] If we are dealing with violations of party discipline, abuse of official position, suppression of criticism, false accounting, corruption, bribery, moral decay, or drunkenness and if there is factual and documentary proof to hand, there can be no two ways about it—it is a punitive organ. I want to clarify this straight away: We conduct a purely party inspection, we do not replace the law enforcement agencies in any way.

It is a different matter when in some places punishments are indiscriminate. A man has committed his first minor misdemeanor—and a succession of punishments befall him, each one harsher than the one before. Generally speaking there must be no superficiality or haste, even less prejudice, when dealing with a communist's personal case. Take the following example. For many years, I. Nekrasov was head of the Debaltsevskiy metallurgical equipment repair plant and won a reputation as a good production organizer. But once, during inspections conducted at the plant by local organs of power, shortcomings and violations in the work of a number of subdivisions came to light. Immediately afterwards, the city party committee issued a succession of reprimands against the director, expelled him from the party, and dismissed him from his job. And all this was done in haste, bypassing the primary party organization. Of course I. Nekrasov had made mistakes and omissions, he was an obstinate man with his own opinions on matters, but why did they not listen to the communist's arguments and explanations? The Party Control Committee restored his good name.

Incidentally, the investigation of appeals is sometimes also good grounds for considering the style and methods of work of primary party organizations and party committees. But even then it often happened that although we restore justice, those who are to blame for someone's suffering remain in the shadows. Now it is our rule that when cases of prejudice, lack of objectivity, or suppression of criticism are brought to light, interlocutory orders or, as they say, extracts from appeals regarding the actual bearers of shortcomings [konkretnyy nositel nedostatkov] must be sent to party organs.

[PRAVDA] From what you have said, the problem of party comradeliness is extraordinarily acute in the party.

[Pugo] The affirmation of fair principles in relations between party members and an atmosphere of principledness, mutual understanding, and sensitivity are the fundamental question of party life. Without that the party cannot be revived. In an article entitled "Severity," PRAVDA once described what can happen when that atmosphere does not exist. A man did not receive the understanding of his party comrades and resorted to an extreme step—suicide.

What thoughts does this tragic case prompt?

We must do everything to ensure that each party members knows that his honor and dignity will be defended. A communist is entitled to expect that in a critical situation, in what seems the most hopeless position, he can hope that the party will not abandon him. A communist leader must be rigorously called to account for each instance of indifference or callousness. If it is his job to lead people he must listen to their heart and know each person's pain. True rather than apparent comradeliness—therein lies the party's strength.

[PRAVDA] Last year the committee reinstated 147 party members. Presumably new facts were discovered and new circumstances came to light. But clearly there were also mistakes by local party organs?

[Pugo] Of course.

[PRAVDA] What about the committee's staffers, do they make mistakes?

[Pugo] Unfortunately they do. But take my word, as a rule they do not persist in their errors. Although, admittedly, no one likes to revoke his own decisions. Recently, we reinstated A. Ibragimov from Baku to the party. But previously the committee had refused this several times. Perhaps the situation had changed? No. It is just that the investigators had not studied all the circumstances of the case and, to be blunt, had taken a formal approach to it. We draw the most serious conclusions from such cases. How can it be otherwise when a man's future is at stake.

[PRAVDA] In conclusion, I would like to ask you the following question. We party journalists should probably give the control organs our utmost help, too, couldn't we?

[Pugo] I shall be frank: We are hoping for the support of you journalists and for the interest of all communists. Journalism, as I understand it, is a quest for the truth and the restoration of justice. We share a common cause. For example, experience showed the usefulness and effectiveness of a joint verification of the facts on the spot. In brief, our cooperation would fully meet the party line of broadening glasnost and intensifying the masses' control.

I think that from the very outset the new organ should form professional ties with newspapers, radio, and television editorial offices. Decisions on the results of inspections and audits should be published regularly, as should rulings on appeals of instructive and partywide significance. But how could it be otherwise! After all, glasnost is the criterion of the correctness and effectiveness of our work.

There is one final point that I want to make. It concerns the personal responsibility of each communist given the honor of working in the control organs.

He needs a thorough knowledge of party work, a high culture, and absolute objectivty. In order to understand other people and the full complexity of cooperation in society, he has to learn a lot himself and keep in constant contact with communists and working people. He needs a combative character.

Virtually every inspection today is due to the need to lift the lid off major and minor secrets and ask direct and sometimes indirect questions. Yes, this is not easy. But this is also a real struggle for perestroyka. It will be all the more effective, consistent, and successful, the more exacting each control commission worker is toward himself and others.

I should especially like to stress that the new organs' activity is going to begin in the period of establishing the rule-of-law state and of the party's active work to strengthen the legal foundations of all spheres of social life. No single organ or official can operate in disregard of the laws today. Of course, this also applies in full to the party as a whole and to its control organs.

Ligachev Gives Precongress Interview

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[Interview with Yegor K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given, under the rubric "Interview Before the 28th CPSU Congress": "Realistic Positions"]

[Text] [PRAVDA] Yegor Kuzmich, you took part in the work of the Russian party conference—the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Constituent Congress—and you are familiar with the draft documents which are being prepared for the 28th congress. Please tell us, albeit it briefly, what you find most attractive in the renewed CPSU.

[Ligachev] This is undoubtedly a wide-ranging question, but if I am to be brief I would say the following. I am attracted by the fact that the focus of all the party's life, as was the case in Lenin's time, has again turned to communists—or rather the individual communists and their primary organizations.

Democratization and the renewal of society and the party have thrown up lots of bright, smart, and talented people. Yes, indeed, they have always been there. But the existing administrative system most often prevented individuals from realizing their abilities and potential—to the detriment of both society and the party. The draft new CPSU Statutes now lay down a mechanism whereby communists and their organizations will really influence work in rayon and oblast organizations, right up to the center. I am sure that the 28th congress will support this.

It is important to expand the practice not only of listening to and taking account of opinions and proposals, but of implementing them too. I consider this a fundamental point. Put another way, words should invariably be followed by action. The CPSU is a vanguard party, not a political club where people listen to each other, discuss things, and then go home.

I am convinced that relations between communist leaders and the so-called rank-and-file should be more democratic and simple. If only because everyone is equal before the party. There are very many conventions and accretions in this area. A kind of scale of elitism was in operation. I always felt uncomfortable in it. Naturally I am inclined toward simple relations, openness, and respectability. Or are we talking about the wrong thing?

[PRAVDA] No we're not. Precisely this promotes the revelation of the personality of communists—particularly the rank-and-file. Everyone is indeed equal before the party, although this isn't always the case in real life. Well, let's move onto another tack, as they say. What bothers you and makes you angry?

[Ligachev] The fact that there are still low political standards in society. Group sentiments—something which some of the mass media are very enthusiastic about—are rampant. It is particularly intolerable when certain people are badgered or defamed. Instead of pluralism of opinions, we often have a very real diktat according to the well-known principle: Whoever is not with us is against us. Thus, under the conditions of democracy and glasnost, people have found themselves unprotected, and at all levels of the social ladder—from ordinary workers to the president.

Of course, this is unworthy of our society. If we want to focus all our party's life on the individual communist we must persistently enhance political standards and foster

respect in our opponents and their positions. The political struggle of ideas should be honest and open. At the same time, it is extremely important to strengthen people's legal protection.

[PRAVDA] What is your attitude to the creation of the RSFSR Communist Party?

[Ligachev] When discussions were under way and various proposals and options were being discussed, I advocated the re-creation of a Russian Communist Party within the CPSU, and before the 28th CPSU Congress. I believe in communists' strong international traditions and I have no doubt that they will come to the fore and even strengthen in connection with the creation of the RKP [RSFSR Communist Party]. Russian communists know that they more than others are responsible for the integrity of the renewed Soviet Federation and for the cohesion and equality of all peoples within the USSR.

The creation of the RSFSR Communist Party was undoubtedly one of the most portentous events in the country's sociopolitical life. You will agree that this is a great feat for Soviet Russia. In reshaping life in the immense Russian expanses, it has helped the country's other peoples to rise up to progress, acquire autonomy, and create and strengthen their socialist statehood. At the same time, Russia is burdened by contradictions and problems of a political, spiritual, and ethnic nature. The peoples of Russia are linking the formation of their own Communist Party with the resolution of many urgent problems and the strengthening of the republic's genuine sovereignty.

The Russian Federation's leading organs are headed by new people. I hope that they will find common ground, since the main thing is to serve working people's interests. Today we need mutual understanding and harmonious work geared to results and the improvement of living conditions. We must seek out and find points of contact and agreement. I congratulated B.N. Yeltsin on his election as chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet and wished him success.

[PRAVDA] I would like to move on to problems of agrarian policy—all the more so as you, Yegor Kuzmich, are the chairman of the CPSU Central Committee commission on these matters. As is well known, a great many hopes in the country were pinned on the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum. More than a year has passed, but there have been no changes for the better as regards food supplies.

[Ligachev] You're right. I am worried about the fate of the decisions of the March plenum. I frankly stated this in my speech at the Russian party conference. Two to three years ago people said that the food question was the touchstone of perestroyka. It still is. I am profoundly convinced that if we cannot supply the country with enough food there will be no vigorous progress in the other avenues of social renewal. Just look at how many alarmed speeches there were at the Russian conference about the situation in the countryside. It was hardly a coincidence.

The March plenum adopted correct decisions and advocated diversity and equality in the forms of socialist ownership and economic management. Numerous restrictions, of which there were plenty in the countryside, have been abolished. But paradoxes have emerged in practical life. Following the announcement of priority being given to the agrarian sector of the economy, the countryside has started receiving less money, equipment, machinery, and materials.

Of course, the state has no surplus funds. But our agriculture is still very poorly off for technical equipment, many villages—as is well known—are disappearing, and the level of their social facilities does not stand up to any criticism. Under these conditions, taking a traditional view of the agrarian sector in terms of how to extract funds from it for other purposes in the state or simply how to prevent those funds being paid out is a short-sighted policy which will not produce results in food supplies to the population. Miracles don't happen. Soviet peasants are four to five times worse off for equipment and yet some speakers keep claiming that if we give the peasants freedom they will feed the country. We are giving them freedom, but this is not enough as yet.

We can only provide the country with sufficient food on the basis of a range of measures. I agree that we should highlight the change in production relations in the countryside ("giving peasants freedom") but that we also need major capital investment in the countryside, in agrarian production, and in the creation of a modern food industry.

I highly assess the emergence of the USSR Peasants Union. It is headed by V.A. Starodubtsev, the well-known innovator in the field of agricultural production. If this union had been organized earlier there would have been fewer mistakes in agrarian policy. The peasantry will now more actively defend their interests and the interests of the entire country. They will be able to stand up for themselves.

[PRAVDA] Please tell us about the CPSU Central Committee Commission for Questions of Agrarian Policy.

[Ligachev] The commission was formed by the CPSU Central Committee at the end of 1988. This was probably the first attempt at organized participation—and on a permanent basis by a whole group of party committee members—in elaborating and implementing political decisions on the problems of the agro-industrial complex.

The commission has studied a number of acute problems. The CPSU Central Committee draft basic documents for the March (1989) Central Committee Plenum were examined. The commission studied in detail—making field trips and involving specialists and the party aktiv—and then examined questions connected with the elaboration of new purchase prices for agricultural produce, the eradication of losses of produce during storage and processing, the provision of pricing parity between industry and agriculture, and other questions.

Reports from the communist leaders of a number of ministries producing equipment for the food industry and small pieces of equipment for personal farms, leasehold collectives, and peasant farms were discussed along with reports on the organizational work done by RSFSR and Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] party organs to develop housing construction in the countryside.

In short, the elaboration and implementation of all avenues of the party's agrarian policy is the main thing determining the commission's activity. In my view, this is a promising way of organizing the work of an elective party organ. Of course, it should be improved in the direction of democratization and the expansion of the participation of local party committees and the party aktiv in its work, and it should collaborate more closely with the corresponding USSR Supreme Soviet committee.

[PRAVDA] Not everybody knows this, but you once played probably a key role in the apperance in PRAVDA of a series of articles in defense of Lake Baykal and in the elaboration of measures to protect this unique lake-cum-sea. You have also dealt with the problems of Yasnaya Polyana and other of our fatherland's natural and cultural treasures. Could you please comment on whether this was an accidental episode in your work, or do you still deal with the problems of nature conservancy?

[Ligachev] I can say quite definitely that no, it was not an episode. What you have mentioned was determined by my respect for history, national traditions, and continuity between generations. Our country has unique riches created by nature and people. We should be proud of them, cherish them, augment them as far as possible, and, of course, make sensible use of them. That is a sacred undertaking for every citizen. I recall with satisfaction how an organizational and production base was once set up in Tomsk that made it possible to launch the restoration and maintenance of unique examples of wooden architecture on a scientific basis.

As for Baykal and Yasnaya Polyana, we have a supreme responsibility to the future on such matters. Let us always remember that and act more resolutely. As is well known, V.G. Rasputin and other prominent figures in Russian culture have devoted a great deal of effort to the protection of Lake Baykal.

I still handle nature conservation problems even now, but not along the lines of the currently fashionable principle of "preventing" things. We need to strive for ecologically clean plans and the creation of production facilities that do not harm the environment. Nature cannot be protected just with enthusiasm and appeals. It is a national asset. If you want to use it you should pay. If you cause damage you must remedy it in full. And all this should be under the inexorable control of the law. The entire civilized world is traveling this path.

As for history. I have believed and continue to believe that if we put the fatherland's history at the service of perestroyka and social renewal rather than passing over it so barbarically—as some "specialists" have done—there would be great benefits. When in Stockholm recently, I visited the Royal Library and the reading room where V.I. Lenin had worked. I was touched and gladdened by the way in which the memory of this great revolutionary and person is cherished there.

[PRAVDA] Your name is sometimes linked to the anti-alcohol campaign. This has not been particularly successful, and the costs of it are still being felt. What could you say on this score?

[Ligachev] Let's be clear about this: Did we need to start a campaign against drunkenness and alcoholism in the country? My view is that we did. Remember—this was the demand of all of society. There was massive drunkenness. People were becoming demoralized. There was so much distress and suffering in families. In 1984 R53 billion worth of liquor products were sold in the country (for comparison, the figure for 1965 was R15.5 billion). Clearly there is no need to recall the people's sigh of relief when a barrier was placed in the way of such a terrible evil. Take the following, seemingly "extreme," statistic. The other day statistics were published showing that in 1985, 1986, and 1987 there was a substantial drop in the number of murders and suicides in the country. (This phenomenon has to a considerable extent always been associated with the spread or reduction of alcoholism). Since 1988 there has again been an increase.

Undoubtedly, the work to eradicate drunkenness and alcoholism was necessary, we could not have tolerated this dissolution. However, I would self-critically note that this important work was not wholly thought out. Prohibitive measures—which are always easier—gained the upper hand. The first to quake were the planning and financial organs, for whom mass vodka sales were a source of income: The budget was "cracking up." Alas, liquor production and sales have now returned to their previous level. Last year they amounted to a fairly sizable sum—R53 billion (needless to say, we need to adjust for the fact that vodka prices have risen). There has been considerable growth this year too.

Drunkenness has to all intents and purposes returned to families, the streets, and—in a number of places—even to production. This worries people. The CPSU Central Committee has been receiving many letters and telegrams, particularly from women, bitterly regretting the fact that once again there is no escape from drunkards. This is a serious matter. The struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism must not be relaxed. However, we need to conduct it in a more considered fashion, taking account of the mistakes that have been made. We must do so without relying on administrative or prohibitive measures, reinforcing the work with economic, educational, and medical measures.

We must jointly promote the assertion of a sober way of life and overcome any difficulties with understanding. But we should not gloat or whip up feelings. What a fuss there was in reaction to the story that vineyards would be cut down as part of an "anti-alcohol decree"! But this is not the case. Just compare the following figures: On average

85,000 hectares of vineyard were removed from production every year between 1981 and 1984, whereas the figure for 1985-1989 was 74,000 hectares. That is, 11,000 hectares fewer. It is easy to see that the emotion is not backed up by the statistics. It should be noted that, formerly, 93 percent of total grape output went into wine production—that is, only 350,000 tonnes landed on the workers' tables as fresh fruit, whereas in 1988 the figure was over 1 million tonnes. Of course, we have had to work hard.

[PRAVDA] One last question, Yegor Kuzmich. Many people consider you to be the leader of the conservative wing of our party. Although it is well known that you were one of M.S. Gorbachev's closest associates in choosing the course of the revolutionary restructuring of the party and society. What are your views of fundamental party renewal today? What is preventing the party's democratization most of all and the return of the CPSU's prestige in Soviet society? What do you expect to come out of the 28th Congress in this respect?

[Ligachev] I made a heartfelt statement on this subject at the debating club during the PRAVDA festival. But since you've asked the question, I shall repeat myself. I don't consider myself either a conservative or a radical. I'm a realist. It is clear now that certain forces needed to build up and maintain an image of me as a conservative so as to achieve their self-seeking ends against that backdrop. I stand for socialist choice and the communist future—that is well known. But where have we gotten to now? Things that are aimed at bringing about the downfall of socialism in the country and undermining the party are often presented as perestroyka. If something is aimed at strengthening socialism and the party it means that conservative forces are afoot. I see no particular point in enlarging on this topic. It can be part of my memoirs. History will sort us all out.

Wholly devoting myself to the noble and difficult task of perestroyka, I stand for realism and I can see that we are very badly damaged by actions and improvised steps that are not always well-considered. Balance, continuity, and consistency are important in politics—not shilly-shallying. When I say consistency, I do not at all mean sluggishness. I am always understanding and grateful to hear businesslike criticism. Businesslike criticism. However, I'm not one of those who turn the other cheek.

I shouldn't answer the second part of the question in detail—that's a task for the congress. But I will. Our party has constantly worked with social policy and the creation of conditions to meet people's needs. Now, at a time of an emerging multiparty system, concern for people, consideration for and the implementation of their interests, and social protection are of special importance for the party. They will largely determine the political destiny of the party and its prestige among the masses.

I expect the 28th congress to produce a consolidation of party forces and all of society. The CPSU should rally workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia and channel their efforts into creating and renewing society. People are tired of talk, debate, and unrest. People want action, confidence, and a better life today and tomorrow. Democracy and order should go hand in hand.

Delegate Stresses Fight for CPSU's Renewal

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[Text] What do Moscow's communists expect from the 28th CPSU Congress and what is their attitude toward the results of the Constituent Congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party? These questions were to the fore at a meeting held today with Soviet and foreign journalists by Comrade Kuznetsov, a secretary of the Moscow CPSU Committee, and representatives of the party organizations of a number of mass media outlets. The secretaries of the party committees and bureaux of APN, the magazine KOMMUNIST, and the weekly LITERATURNAYA GAZETA expressed anxiety at the situation in the party and the results of the discussion at the Russian congress. Various views were expressed regarding ways of resolving the current situation.

Today, Comrade Kuznetsov stressed, it is necessary to fight resolutely for the renewal of the CPSU and to consolidate all healthy forces in the interests of the radicalisation of perestroyka. The resignation from the party and suspension of membership of it by individual communists are tantamount to fleeing from the battlefield.